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THE
O R I G I N
O F
P R I N T I N G:
I N T W O E S S A Y S:

- I. The Substance of Dr. MIDDLETON's Dissertation on the Origin of Printing in England.
- II. Mr. MEERMAN's Account of the First Invention of the Art.

William Bowyer.

An APPENDIX is annexed,

1. On the first-printed GREEK Books.
2. On the first-printed HEBREW Books, with Observations on some modern Editions; and a Collation, from WALTON's Polyglott, of a remarkable Passage, as printed in *Kings and Chronicles*.
3. On the early POLYGLOTTS.



L O N D O N:

Printed for W. BOWYER and J. NICHOLS,
at Cicero's Head, Red-Lion-Passage, Fleet-Street.

MDCCLXXIV.

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THE present publication was at first designed to have been extended no farther than to re-print the substance of Dr. MIDDLETON'S Dissertation, with Remarks on some mistakes of that ingenious Gentleman; which are thrown into the form of Notes, to distinguish them from the passages they are intended to illustrate.

The SECOND ESSAY, though not pretended to be a *complete History* of the Origin of the Art, we may venture to assert, gives a clearer account of it than any book hitherto published in this kingdom. It contains, in as concise a manner as possible, the substance of the *Origines Typographicae* of the very learned and ingenious Mr. GERARD MEERMAN, Pensionary of Rotterdam; and may be considered as the outlines of that curious publication, with supplementary Notes on some interesting particulars.

Mr. MEERMAN very clearly fixes the first rudiments of the art to LAURENTIUS, at Harleim; the improvement of it to GEINSFLEICH senior and his brother GUTENBERG * (assisted by the liberality of FAUSTUS) at Mentz; and the completion of the

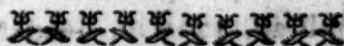
* In English, GOOD-HILL. See PALMER, p. 17.

whole to PETER SCHOEFFER, in the same city. The claim of Strasburgh is amply considered, and evidently overthrown.

Of the APPENDIX, we need only say, that the assistance of two valuable Friends has enabled us to make it truly interesting. The Reader will there find a distinct account of the first-printed Greek and Hebrew books; a collation of two parallel passages in the Hebrew Scriptures; and a particular history of the early Polyglotts.



C O N T E N T S.



I. Dr. MIDDLETON's DISSERTATION.

P. 1—53

CAXTON constantly supposed by our Historians
to have introduced Printing into England. 1

This supposition rendered doubtful by the ap-
pearance of a book at Oxford, dated 1468. 2

The Oxford printer named FREDERICK COR-
SELLIS, as appears by the substance of a
record published by Mr. ATKYNS on the
subject. — — — — 3

A remarkable particular in this record confirmed by
Mr. MEERMAN. — — — — 5

Dr. M. disputes its authenticity. — — — — 7—17

The Doctor's objections answered, in notes C. D.
E. F. G. H. I. K. — — — — ibid.

Dr. M. supposes the Oxford book to have
been printed with a wrong date, as several
have been in other places, either by mis-
take or design. — — — — 21—24

A remarkable instance of an erasure in an edi-
tion of BARTHOLOMÆUS *de proprietatibus rerum*
detected by Mr. MEERMAN. — — — — 21

All books with an earlier date than 1457 may be
pronounced forgeries. — — — — 22

The

vi C O N T E N T S.

The Chinese mode of Printing invented in 930.	23
Dr. M. supports his opinion by a mistake of a numeral in a book printed at Cambridge in 1734. — — — — —	24
Curious remarks on this passage, from The Weekly Miscellany, April 26, 1735. — — — — —	ibid.
Account of the first use of Signatures,	27
In which Dr. M. is mistaken. — — — — —	ibid.
Dr. M. supposes further, that the date of the Oxford book is a false one, as no other appeared from that press for 11 years.	29
This interval probably accounted for. — — — — —	ibid.
A list of books printed at Oxford before 1500.	30
The date of one by THEODORIC ROOD com- puted by Olympiads. — — — — —	31
Dr. M's remarks on the Olympiads and Lus- trums of the Romans. — — — — —	32
In which he is mistaken. — — — — —	ibid.
As he is also in the interpretation of part of the colophon in this book. — — — — —	36—38
Two Printers in London much earlier than our writers have imagined. — — — — —	39
Printing very early practised by the School- master of St. Alban's *. — — — — —	40
	A mis-

* In PALMER's History of Printing, p. 327, mention is made of a *Book of Miscellanies*; in the first leaf of which is an account of two books printed at St. Alban's, viz. the Book in which the observations are written; and the *Book of Haukyng and Huntynge*, described above, p. 42. These obser-

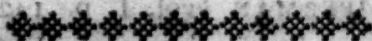
C O N T E N T S. vii

A mistake of Mr. STRYPE's pointed out by Dr. M. —————	41
Further proofs of CAXTON's being the first Printer in England. —————	42
This not irreconcilable with the story of CORSELLIS.	43
CAXTON's first book was the <i>Recule of the Histories of Troye.</i> —————	47
He is supposed to have been an assistant in the printing of BARTHOLOMÆUS <i>de proprie- tatibus rerum</i> at Cologne in 1470. —————	49
The date in this book a false one. —————	ibid.
He was an apprentice to a mercer. —————	50
Spent 30 years beyond seas in merchandizing.	ibid.

observations Mr. PALMER has printed, and adds at the end,
 " Thus far we have copied from my Lord's manuscript
 " notes." Mr. MEERMAN (vol. I. p. 142) remarks on
 this passage, " Re penitus examinata, varia sunt, quæ ean-
 " dem narrationem plusquam suspectam, imo falsam red-
 " dant. Primum est, quod ipsa annotatio evincat, eam non
 " deberi peritissimo PEMBROKIE Comiti, ut persuadere
 " lectoribus PALMERIUS voluit, sed alii cuidam anonymo,
 " (quippe semper in tertia persona de PEMBROKIE Comite
 " loquitur, e. g. *as may be seen in my Lord's books*, itemque
 " *the which my Lord also has*) quem ego ipsum PALMERIUM,
 " insignem, dum viveret, impostorem, inque ædibus Pem-
 " brokianis familiarem fuisse suspicor."—I have been in-
 formed that an assistant with PALMER in this work was
 PSALMANAZAR, an impostor by his own confession. That
 he had connexions with PALMER, appears from his Life
 written by himself, and printed since his death. W. B.
 1766.

Employed

Employed in a public capacity by Edw. IV. 50
 His books were printed in Westminster Abbey,
 under the patronage of Abbot MILLING,
 not (as has been supposed) of ISLIP. 52
 Dr. M. accuses EACHARD of a mistake in fix-
 ing the beginning of EDWARD I's reign. 53
 The Historian vindicated. ——— 53
 CAXTON said to have pursued business till 1494. 54
 No longer than 1491. ——— ibid.
 Though he printed for EDWARD IV, and
 HENRY VII; it does not appear that he was
 a sworn servant and printer to the crown. 55
 In the year 1504, however, we find that title
 assumed by PYNSON. ——— ibid.
 As it had before been by WILLIAM FANQUE. ibid.



II. Mr. MEERMAN's Account of the First In- vention of the Art.

The obscurity attending all former accounts
 of its origin, ——— 56
 Whence it arises. ——— ibid.
 The honour of the invention claimed by Har-
 leim, Mentz, and Strasburgh. ——— 57
 To be ascribed, in some measure, to each. ibid.
 The Testimony of HADRIAN JUNIUS. ibid.
 Some account of GALIUS and QUIRINIUS, from
 whom JUNIUS learnt what he has related. ibid.
 Critical observations on the name of FAUSTUS. 59

C O N T E N T S. ix

Account of the famous editions of TULLY's Offices.	59
An error of SCHMIDIUS pointed out.	60
Another of MAITTAIRE's, with Dr. TAYLOR's remarks on it.	61
A remarkable particular in Duke LAUDER- DALE's Bible.	ibid.
M. DE BURE's account of these editions of TULLY.	62
The Greek quotations in them barbarously printed.	100
Remarks on JUNIUS's narrative.	64
Though some particulars of it are to be set aside, it is true as to the main fact.	ibid.
LAURENTIUS fil. JOHANNIS the first inventor.	ibid.
Who proceeded, however, no farther than <i>separate wooden types.</i>	ibid.
His first essay was about 1430.	65
He died about 1440, after having printed the <i>Horarium</i> , the <i>Speculum Belgicum</i> , and two different editions of <i>Donatus</i> .	65—70
SCRIVERIUS's account of the invention a little dif- ferent from that of JUNIUS.	65
A description of the <i>Horarium</i> .	66
When <i>direction-words</i> , <i>folios</i> , and <i>running-titles</i> , were respectively introduced.	ibid.
ULRIC ZELL the first printer at Cologne.	67
Printing esteemed a reputable employment, and no derogation to nobility.	69
Coat-armour granted to the <i>Typotheta</i> and <i>Typographi</i> .	ibid.
A summary account of the life of LAURENTIUS.	69—72
JUNIUS's account of the robbery committed by a servant of LAURENTIUS.	72
An inquiry who was the guilty person.	74
Proved to be JOHN GEINSFLEIGH senior.	76—78

x C O N T E N T S.

There were two JOHN GEINSFLEICH's; the
youngest distinguished by the name of GUTEN-
BERG. ————— 76

The character of the latter. ————— ibid.

GEINSFLEICH senior, the *first* printer in
Mentz, published, in 1442, ALEXANDRI
GALLI *Doctrinale* and PETRI. HISPANI
Tractatus. ————— 79

These tracts used in schools in ERASMUS's young
days. ————— ibid.

Many curious specimens of early printing dis-
covered by Mr. MEERMAN, unnoticed by
former writers. ————— 80

Particularly *two editions* of the Grammar of ALEX-
ANDER, one of them shewn to him by Mr.
BRYANT in the Sunderland Library at Blen-
heim, printed at Florence *before* 1472. ————— ibid.

GEINSFLEICH at first used *wooden types*, cut
after the model of those which he had
stolen. ————— 84

In 1443, he entered into partnership with
FUST (who supplied money), MEIDEN-
BACHIUS, and others, ————— 85

In 1444, they were joined by GUTENBERG. ————— ibid.

The latter, by the assistance of his brother,
first invented *cut metal types*. ————— ibid.

With which, in 1450, they printed the *earliest*
edition of the Bible, which was seven or
eight years completing. ————— 86

This not the edition which FUST sold in Paris
as a manuscript. ————— ibid.

This

C O N T E N T S. xi

The partnership dissolved; and a new one entered into between FUST and GUTENBERG. — — —	86
This latter one also dissolved in 1455. —	ibid.
A magnificent edition of the <i>Psalter</i> published in 1457, by FUST and SCHOEFFER. —	ibid.
Another printing-office opened by GUTENBERG at Mentz. — — —	87
Who printed, in 1460, the <i>Catholicon</i> Jo. DE JANUA. — — —	ibid.
Account of this <i>Catholicon</i> , and of a curious <i>Vocabulary</i> printed at Alta Villa in 1469. —	ibid.
GUTENBERG used none but <i>wooden</i> or <i>cut metal types</i> . — — — —	88
The completing of the art is owing to PETER SCHOEFFER, the servant and son-in-law of FUST, who invented a mode of casting the <i>types</i> in matrices. — —	89
And was probably the first engraver on copper plates. —	ibid.
TRITHEMIUS's narrative of the invention. —	ibid.
A correction of Mr. MEERMAN's, in a passage of this narrative; with remarks on the correction. —	90
A further account of the invention, by Jo. FRID. FAUSTUS — — —	91
JOHN SCHOEFFER's account of it, —	92
Who was mistaken in his mother's name. —	ibid.
The first book printed with the improved types was <i>DURANDI Rationale</i> , in 1459. —	92
From this year to 1466 many other books were printed by FUST and SCHOEFFER. —	93

More copies printed on vellum than on paper.	ibid.
In 1471 SCHOEFFER was in partnership with CONRAD HENLIF, a kinsman of his master FUST.	ibid.
SCHOEFFER continued to print many books till 1490.	ibid.
The claim of <i>Strasburgh</i> fairly considered.	93—99
GUTENBURGH attempted in vain to accom- plish the art in that city.	94
The first actual printers there were MENTELIUS and EGGESTENIUS, from whom no books appear till after the dispersion of the Mentz Printers in 1462,	96
From this period Printing spread rapidly through Europe.	ibid.
At Constantinople in 1490.	ibid.
In Africa and America, in the middle of the next century.	ibid.
In Russia, about 1560.	ibid.
In Iceland, on the authority of Mr. BRYANT, 1612.	97
The notion of Printing being invented at Strasburgh accounted for,	ibid.
JOHN SCHOEFFER's duplicity, in ascribing the invention to his grandfather Fust,	98

C O N T E N T S. xiii

A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

On the first-printed Greek Books.	102—107
The first Greek printing was a few Sentences of TULLY's <i>Offices</i> , at Mentz, 1465, which were miserably incorrect.	— 102
In the same year, some quotations in LACTANTIUS, neatly printed in <i>monasterio Sublacensi</i> .	ibid.
A Semi-gothic type first used in this edition of LACTANTIUS; the characters before this time having been uniformly Gothic, whence our Black .	— — — — — ibid.
The Roman type, when, where, and by whom, first used.	— — — — — ibid.
A beautiful edition of AULUS GELLIUS, in 1469.	— — — — — ibid.
The printers of it almost ruined, by not being able to sell the copies of the books they printed.	ibid.
The petition, presented to the Pope.	— — — — — ibid.
The first whole Greek book was the Grammar of CONSTANTINE LASCARIS, at Milan, 1476.	ibid.
A Greek <i>Psalter</i> printed at Milan in 1481.	103
And one at Venice (also the <i>Batrachomyomachia</i>) in 1486.	— — — — — ibid.
Remarks on an edition of PLINY's <i>Nat. Hist.</i> at Venice, 1469.	— — — — — ibid.
Remarks on the Venice <i>Psalter</i> .	— — — — — ibid.
HOMER was printed at Florence, in 1488.	— 104
THEOCRITUS, at Milan, in 1493.	— — — — — ibid.
	Short

xiv. CONTENTS.

Short account of ALDUS. — —	104
He invented the <i>Italic</i> character, and why. —	105
Account of R. and H. STEPHENS, and of the state of early Greek printing in France. —	ibid.
Greek correctly printed in that kingdom sooner than has been generally supposed. — —	ibid.
The first Greek edition of <i>the whole Bible</i> . —	106
A passage in MAITTAIRE, on a curious edition of the Latin Bible, vindicated against Mr. PALMER, on the authority of Dr. TAYLOR. —	ibid.
Account of another scarce edition of the Latin Bible, published by SERVETUS. — —	107

N° II.

On the first-printed Hebrew Books; with Observations on some modern Editions.

	108—117
The <i>Psalms</i> first printed in 1477. — —	108
The Pentateuch, in 1482. — —	ibid.
The <i>Prior Prophets</i> , in 1484. — —	ibid.
The <i>Posterior Prophets</i> , in 1486. — —	109
The <i>Hagiographia</i> , in 1487. — —	ibid.
The WHOLE TEXT in one volume, in 1488. —	ibid.
A fine copy of the <i>Hagiographia</i> (the only one at that time known of), presented by Dr. PELLET to Eaton College. — —	ibid.
Another since discovered at Rome. — —	ibid.
About the year 1520 the Jews adopted the <i>Masora</i> . — — — —	110
The whole of the <i>New Testament</i> first published in Hebrew in 1599. — — — —	ibid.

A pre-

C O N T E N T S.

A pretended ancient Gospel of St. Matthew, with a Latin translation, in 1537.	— — —	ibid.
A remarkable edition of the Bible published at Mantua, in 1742.	— — —	ibid.
Amazing variations in the several printed copies,		111
A Collation of the Account of the Dedication of the Temple.	— — —	114—116
Some account of STANISLAUS GRSEPSIUS, and the singular fate of his treatise <i>De multiplici fido, et talento Hebraico.</i>	— — —	117

N° III.

On the first-printed Polyglotts.		
The first Polyglott work (printed by PORRUS at Geneva, in 1516) described.	— — —	118
Some account of PORRUS.	— — —	ibid.
Remarks on the Septuagint version; and on the Illyrian, Gothic, Arabic, Æthiopic, Armenian, and Syriac versions.	— — —	ibid.
Account of SAADIAS.	— — —	ibid.
PORRUS the first printer of Arabic.	— — —	119
2000 copies of his Psalter printed, by order of JUSTINIAN Bishop of Nebo, besides 50 on vellum.		ibid.
Account of POTKEN, and his <i>Psalter</i> of 1518.		120—127
Particular remarks on this <i>Psalter</i> of POTKEN, and on LE LONG's account of it.	— — —	ibid.
Whether ERASMUS was the first editor of Polyglott Books.	— — —	ibid.
The Complutensian edition of the Bible, by Cardinal XIMENES, published in 1522.		128
5		A Poly-

xvi C O N T E N T S.

A Polyglott Pentateuch at Constantinople, in 1546. — — — — —	128
Another, at the same place, in 1547. —	129
The Antwerp Polyglott, 1569—1572.	ibid.
Remark of Dr. KENNICOTT on this edition.	ibid.
Heidelberg Polyglott, 1586. —	130
The edition of WOLDERUS, in 1596. —	ibid.
Remarks on it. — — — — —	ibid.
The Polyglott of HUTTERUS, 1599. —	131
Remarks on it. — — — — —	ibid.
LE JAY's Polyglott, 1645. —	132
Bishop WALTON's, 1657. — — — — —	ibid.
Some account of its contents. — — — — —	ibid.
Remarkable particulars relating to this edition. — — — — —	133—135
A curious letter, on a compliment to the Protector, suppressed by Bishop WALTON after the Restoration. — — — — —	135—139
The Hebrew and Samaritan Text, in the English Polyglott, incorrectly printed.	140
Remarks on some errors in the Preface to it.	141, 142
Further observations on the name of JOHN SCHOEFER's mother, p. 92. — — — — —	143
And on the passage of TRITHEMIUS, quoted in p. 90. — — — — —	144

THE
ORIGINAL
OF
PRINTING.

WITH REMARKS,

IT was a constant opinion, delivered down by our historians, as hath been observed by Dr. MINDLETON, that the ART OF PRINTING was introduced and first practised in England by WILLIAM CAXTON, a mercer and citizen of London; who, by his travels abroad, and a residence of many years in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in the affairs of trade, had an opportunity of informing himself of the whole method and process of the art; and by the encouragement of the great, and particularly of the abbot of Westminster, first set up a press in that abbey, and began to print books soon after the year 1471.

This was the tradition of our writers; till a book, which had scarce been observed before the Restoration, was then taken notice of by the curious, with a date of its impression from Oxford, anno 1468, and

was considered immediately as a clear proof and monument of the exercise of printing in that university, several years before Caxton began to deal in it.

The book, which is in our public library, is a small volume of forty-one leaves in quarto, with this title: "Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum ad Papam Laurentium:" and at the end, "Explicit exposicio, &c. Impressa Oxonie, & finita Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVIII. XVII die Decembris."

The appearance of this book has robbed Caxton of a glory that he had long possessed, of being the author of printing to this kingdom, and Oxford ever since carried the honour of the first press. The only difficulty was, to account for the silence of history in an event so memorable, and the want of any memorial in the university itself, concerning the establishment of a new art amongst them, of such use and benefit to learning. But this likewise has been cleared up, by the discovery of a record, which had lain obscure and unknown at Lambeth-house, in the Register of the See of Canterbury, and gives a narrative of the whole transaction, drawn up at the very time.

An account of this record was first published in a thin quarto volume, in English; with this title, "The Original and Growth of PRINTING, collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdome: wherein is also demonstrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal; and is a Flower of the Crown of

of England. By Richard Arkyns, esq.—Whitehall, April the 25, 1564. By order and appointment of the right honourable Mr. Secretary Morrice, let this be printed. THO. RYCAUT. London: Printed by John Streater, for the Author. 1664." 4to.

It sets forth in short [A], "That as soon as the art of printing made some noise in Europe, Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, moved the then king (Hen. VI.) to use all possible means for procuring a printing-mold (for so it 'twas there called) to be brought into this kingdom. The king (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion; and taking private advice, how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons as would draw off some of the workmen of Harleim in Holland, where John Cuthenberg had newly invented it, and was himself personally at work. 'Twas resolved, that less than one thousand marks would not produce the desired effect; towards which sum the said archbishop presented the king three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the design was committed

[A] Dr. Middleton having given a very small extract from this book of Mr. Atkyns, it was thought proper to lay the substance of it more fully before the reader, in the words of Mr. Maittaire, *Annales Typographicae*, vol. i. p. 28.—Mr. Palmer has also printed a particular account of it, *Hist. of Printing*, p. 314. B.

to Mr. Robert Turnour; who then was of the robes to the king, and a person most in favour with him of any of his condition. Mr. Turnour took to his assistance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as stay in the Low Countries. Mr. Turnour was in disguise (his beard and hair shaven quite off); but Mr. Caxton appeared known and public. They, having received the said sum of one thousand marks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harleim itself; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned and apprehended divers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose. They staid, till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in gifts and expences: so as the king was fain to send five hundred marks more, Mr. Turnour having written to the king, that he had almost done his work; a bargain (as he said) being struck betwixt him and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederick Corfells (or rather Corfellis), who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a vessel prepared before for that purpose; and so the wind, favouring the design, brought him safe to London. 'Twas not thought so prudent to set him on work at London: but by the archbishop's means (who had been vice-chancellor and afterwards chancellor of the university of Oxon) Corfellis was carried with a guard to Oxon; which guard constantly watched to prevent Corfellis from any possible

ble

ble escape, till he had made good his promise in teaching them how to print. So that at Oxford printing was first set up in England, which was before there was any printing-press or printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany (except the city of Mentz), which claims seniority, as to printing, even of Harleim itself, calling her city, "*Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicae inventricem primam*," though 'tis known to be otherwise; that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harleim, who had learnt it at home of his brother, and after set up for himself at Mentz [B]. This press at Oxon was at least ten years before there was any printing in Europe, except at Harleim and Mentz, where it was but new born. This press at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient, to be the sole printing-place of England; as being too far from London and the sea. Wherefore the king set up a press at St. Alban's, and another in the city of Westminster;

[B] This circumstance is urged as a great confirmation of the authority of this narration. The fact here asserted has been proved to be true, viz. that there were two brothers, JOHN GEINSFLEISCH senior and junior, who practised this art on separate wooden types, first at Harleim, and that the latter carried it to Mentz. This opinion is so contrary to what all the English historians relate, as Fabian, Hollinghed, Stow, Baker, &c. and Caxton himself, that the author must have had his information from some one who had it from the most authentic monuments. MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 30.

where

where they printed several books of *divinity* and *physic*; for *the king* (for reasons best known to himself and council) *permitted then no law-books to be printed*; nor did any printer exercise that art, but only such as were the king's sworn servants; *the king himself having the price and emolument for printing books.*—By this means the art grew so famous, that anno primo Ric. III. c. 9, when an act of parliament was made for restraint of aliens from using any handicrafts here (except as servants to natives), a special proviso was inserted, that strangers might bring in printed or written books, to sell at their pleasure, and exercise the art of printing here, notwithstanding that act: so in that space of forty or fifty years, by the indulgence of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII, the English proved so good proficient in printing, and grew so numerous, as to furnish the kingdom with books; and so skilful, as to print them as well as any beyond the seas; as appears by the act 25 Henry VIII, cap. 15, which abrogates the said proviso for that reason. And it was further enacted in the said statute, that if any person bought foreign books bound, he should pay 6s. 8d. per book. And it was further provided and enacted, that in case the said printers or sellers of books were unreasonable in their prices, they should be moderated by the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, the two lords chief justices, or any two of them; who also had power to fine them 3s. 4d. for every book, whose price shall be enhanced.

enhanced.—But when they were by charter incorporated with *book-binders, book-sellers, and founders of letters*, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, and called THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS—they kickt against the power that gave them life, &c.—Queen Elizabeth, the first year of her reign, grants by patent *the privilege of sole printing all books that touch or concern the common laws of England*, to Tottel a servant to her majesty, who kept it intire to his death; after him, to one Yest Weirt, another servant to her majesty; after him, to Weight and Norton; and after them, king James grants the same privilege to More, one of the signer; which grant continues to this day, &c.”

From the authority of this record, (says Dr. M.) all our later writers declare Corfellis to be the first printer in England; Mr. Anthony Wood, the learned Mr. Mattaire, Palmer, and one Bagford, an industrious man, who had published proposals for an History of Printing, and whose manuscript papers were communicated to me by my worthy and learned friend Mr. Baker: but it is strange that a piece so fabulous, and carrying such evident marks of forgery, could impose upon men so knowing and inquisitive.

For first; the fact is laid quite wrong as to time; near the end of Henry the Sixth's reign, in the very heat of the civil wars; when it is not credible that a prince, struggling for life as well as his crown, should have leisure or disposition to attend to a project that could hardly be thought of, much less executed, in

times

times of such calamity [C]. The printer, it is said, was graciously received by the king, made one of his sworn servants, and sent down to Oxford with a guard, &c. all which must have passed before the year MCCCCLIX; for Edward IV, was proclaimed in London, in the end of it, according to our computation, on the 4th of March, and crowned about the Midsummer following (see Caxton's Chronicle) [D]; and

[C] But this king, after he had laid the foundations for two of the greatest seminaries of literature in England, Eaton and King's College, Cambridge, bestowed his royal munificence to two colleges in Oxford, amidst all his troubles. MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 32.

[D] Whatever Caxton's Chronicle may say, we have a much greater authority for fixing the beginning of king Edward's reign in MCCCCLX-I, i. e. a year later than Dr. Middleton does. The first instrument in Rymer's Conventiones, &c. in this king's reign, begins thus; "Mem. quod die Martis, decimo die Martii, anno regni regis Edw. primo." Now in the year MCCCCLX-I, the tenth of March fell upon a Tuesday; but in MCCCCLIX-LX, on a Monday. This mistake indeed of Dr. Middleton's is happily a confirmation of his own hypothesis. A transposition of a numeral in Caxton's Chronicle (Mar. MCCCCLIX for MCCCCLXI) made him antedate the reign of Edward IV; as the omission of x, in the *Expositio Hieronymi*, printed at Oxford, is supposed to have made the public antedate the beginning of printing there. But that University needs no such support: though Dr. M. does; who left this mistake in the edition of his works, published in 1752, vol. iii. p. 231, 4to. though it had been pointed out, as above, in the *Grubstreet Journal*, N^o. 273, March 20, 1735. B.

yet

yet we have no fruit of all this labour and expence till ten years after, when the little book, described above, is supposed to have been published from that press.

Secondly; the silence of Caxton, concerning a fact in which he is said to be a principal actor, is a sufficient confutation of it: for it was a constant custom with him, in the prefaces or conclusions of his works, to give an historical account of all his labours and transactions, as far as they concerned the publishing and printing of books. And, what is still stronger, in *The Continuation of the Polychronicon*, compiled by himself, and carried down to the end of Henry the Sixth's reign, he makes no mention of the expedition in quest of a Printer; which he could not have omitted had it been true: whilst in the same book he takes notice of the invention and beginning of Printing in the city of Mentz [E]; which I shall make some use of by and by.

There is a further circumstance in Caxton's history, that seems inconsistent with the record; for we find him

[E] As Caxton makes no mention in his *Polychronicon* of his *expedition in quest of a Printer*; so neither does he of his bringing the art first into England, which it is as much a wonder he should omit as the other. And as to his saying that *the invention of Printing was at Mentz*, he means, of printing on *fusile* separate types. In this he copies, as many others have, from the *Fasciculus temporum*; a work

him still beyond sea, about twelve years after the supposed transaction, "learning with great charge and trouble the art of printing;" (*Reculé of the Histories of Troye*, in the end of the 2d and 3d books;) which he might have done with ease at home, if he had got Corfellis into his hands, as the record imports, so many years before: but he probably learnt it at Cologne, where he resided in 1471,

written in 1470, by WERNERUS ROLEVINCH DE LAER, a Carthusian Monk, a Ms. copy of which was in the library of Gerard Jo. Vossius (see lib. iii. *de Histor. Latin.* c. 6.); and afterwards continued to the year 1474, when it was first printed at Cologne, *typis Arnoldi ter Huernen*. It was re-published in 1481, by HEINRICUS WIRCZBURG DE VACH, a Cluniac monk, without mentioning the name either of the printer or of the place of publication. We are told, indeed, in a colophon, that the book was published *sub Lodovico Gruerie Comite magnifico*; but, as the country whence this illustrious nobleman assumed his title was unknown to the learned editor of the *Origines Typographicæ*, it will be no easy task for an Englishman to discover it: nor is it of much consequence; as this edition, though somewhat enlarged, was miserably interpolated throughout, and particularly so in the account of the invention of Printing.—It is plain, however, that Caxton had one at least, or more probably both of these editions before him, when he wrote his continuation of the *Polychronicon*, as he mentions this work in his preface, and adopts the sentiments of its editor. (See MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 37. and his *Documenta*, N^o VII, XXIV, and XXV.) N.

(*Reculé*,

(Recole, &c. *ibid.*), and whence books had been first printed with date, the year before [F].

To the silence of Caxton, we may add that of the Dutch writers: for it is very strange, as Mr. Chevillier observes, if the story of the record be true, "That Adrian Junius, who has collected all the groundless ones that favour the pretensions of Harleim, should never have heard of it." (*L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, c. i. p. 25.)

[F] Caxton tells us, in the preface to *The History of Troye*, that he began that translation March 1, 1468, at Bruges; that he proceeded on with it at Ghent; that he finished it at Cologne, 1471; and printed it, probably, in that city with his own types. He was thirty years abroad, chiefly in Holland; and lived in the court of Margaret duchess of Burgundy, sister of our Edward IV. It was therefore much easier to print his book at Cologne, than to cross the sea to learn the art at Oxford. But further, there was a special occasion for his printing it abroad. Corfellis had brought over so far the art of printing as he had learnt it at Harleim, which was the method of printing on *wooden separate* types, having the face of the letter cut upon them. But the art of *casting* types being divulged in 1462 by the workmen of Mentz, he thought proper to learn that advantageous branch before he returned to England. This method of casting the types was such an improvement, that they looked on it as the *original* of printing; and Caxton, as most others do, ascribes that to *Mentz*.—Caxton was an assistant with Turner in getting off *Corfellis*; but it is no where supposed that he came with him into *England*. See MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 34. B.

But thirdly; the most direct and internal proof of its forgery, is its ascribing the origin of Printing to Harleim; "where John Guttemberg, the inventor, is said to have been personally at work when Corfellis was brought away, and the art itself to have been first carried to Mentz by a brother of one of Guttemberg's workmen [G]:" for it is certain beyond all doubt, that Printing was first invented and propagated from Mentz. Caxton's testimony seems alone to be decisive; who, in the Continuation of the Polychronicon, fol. 433 [H], says, "About this time (viz. anno 1455) the crafte of emprynting was first found in Mogounce in Almayne, &c." He was abroad in the very country, and at the time, when the first project and thought of it began, and the rudest essays of it were attempted; where he continued for thirty years, viz. from 1441 to 1471: and, as he was particularly curious and inquisitive after this new art, of which he was endeavouring to get a perfect information, he could not be ignorant of the place where it was first exercised. This confutes what Palmer conjectures, to confirm the credit of the record, "That the compiler might take up with the common report, that passed current at the time in Holland, in favour of Harleim; or probably re-

[G] See the words of the record as printed above, p. 5.

[H] The testimony of Caxton will perhaps not appear so very DECISIVE as Dr. M. imagines, if the circumstances mentioned above, in the note [E], p. 9, 10, are candidly considered. N,

ccive

ceive it from Caxton himself;" (Hist. of Printing, book iii. p. 318:) for it does not appear that there was any such report at the time, nor many years after; and Caxton, we see, was better informed from his own knowledge; and, had Palmer been equally curious, he could not have been ignorant of this testimony of his in the very case.

Besides the evidence of Caxton, we have another contemporary authority, from the Black Book, or Register of the Garter, published by Mr. Anstis, where, in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI, anno 1457, it is said, "In this year of our most pious king, the art of printing bookes first began at Mentz, a famous city of Germany." Hist. of Garter, vol. ii. p. 161.

Fabian likewise, the writer of the Chronicle, an author of good credit, who lived at the same time with Caxton, though some years younger, says, "This yere, (viz. 35 Henry VI,) after the opynyon of dyverse wryters, began in a citie of Almaine, namyd Mogunce, the crafte of empryntyng bokys, which sen that tyme hath had wonderful encrease." These three testimonies have not been produced before, that I know of; two of them were communicated to me by Mr. Baker, who of all men is the most able, as well as the most willing, to give information in every point of curious and uncommon history.

I need not pursue this question any farther; the testimonies commonly alledged in it may be seen in Mr. Mattaire, Palmer, &c. I shall only observe, that

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we have full and authentic evidence for the cause of Mentz, in an edition of Livy from that place, anno 1518, by John Scheffer, the son of Peter, the partner and son-in-law of John Faust: where the PATENT OF PRIVILEGE GRANTED BY THE EMPEROR TO THE PRINTER; the prefatory epistle of Erasmus; the epistle dedicatory to the prince by Ulrich Hutten; the epistle to the reader of the two learned men who had the care of the edition; all concur in asserting the origin of the art to that city, and the invention and first exercise of it to Faust: and Erasmus particularly, who was a Dutchman, would not have *decided against* [I] his
OWN

[I] It must be allowed that the edition of Livy (which, by the bye, Dr. Middleton has antedated, it being published in 1519) is indeed *a full and authentic evidence for the cause of Mentz*. The several authorities Dr. Middleton has referred to are preserved by Mr. Meerman, in his *Documenta*, N° XLVII. The emperor's patent, dated Dec. 9, 1518, begins thus: "MAXIMILIANUS, &c. honesto nostro, & sacri Imperii fideli nobis dilecto JOHANNI SCHEFFER, Chalcographo Moguntino, gratiam nostram Cæsaream, & omne bonum. Cum, sicut docti & moniti sumus fide dignorum testimonio, ingeniosum Chalcographiæ, AUTHORE AVO TUO, inventum, felieibus incrementis, in universum orbem promanaverit, &c." It is said by ULRICH HUTTEN, in the dedication to *Albert* the archbishop, "Si vel locum voluit LIVIUS aliquem suo decorare egressu, quem debuit urbi, ARTIS omnium, quæ usque fuit, aut unquam fuerunt, PRÆSTANTISSIMÆ INVENTRICI AC ALUMNÆ (IMPRESSORIAM puto, quam hæc dedit) præferre?"—In the epistle to the reader by NICHOLAS CARBACHIVS,

own country, had there been any ground for the claim of Harleim.

But to return to the Lambeth record: as it was *never heard of before the publication of Atkins's book*, so it has never since been seen or produced by any man; though the Registers of Canterbury have on many occasions been diligently and particularly searched for it. They were examined without doubt very carefully by archbishop Parker, for the compiling his *Antiquities of the British Church*; where, in the life of Thomas Bourchier, though he congratulates that age on the noble and useful invention of

BACHIUS, JO. SCHEFFER is mentioned as "*Chalcographus, à cujus avo Chalcographe IN HAC PRIMUM URBE INVENTA exercitaque est.*" ERASMUS's words are, "*Quorum princeps fuisse FERTUR JOHANNES FAUST, avus ejus, cui LIVIUM hunc debemus; ut hoc egregium decus partim ad JOHANNEM SCHEFFER, velut hereditario jure devolvatur, partim ad MONGENTIACÆ civitatis gloriam pertineat.*" And Fabian, before him, says, AFTER THE OPINION OF DIVERSE WRITERS. So that it is probable there was *some report* (whether upon Harleim's claiming the honour of printing on wooden types first, or not) that Mentz was not the place where Printing was first invented, though the united force of the above authentic testimonies might seem to confirm its claim to that honour.—It may be nearer the truth, if we suppose (to apply the words of ULRICH HUTTEN a little differently from his intentions) that HARLEIM was the *inventor*, and *Mentz* the *alumna* of PRINTING; though the improvements made in the art by the latter were so very considerable, as to deserve the name of a new invention. N.

Printing,

Printing, yet he is silent as to the introduction of it into England by the endeavours of that archbishop; nay, his giving the honour of the invention to Strasburg, clearly shews that he knew nothing of the story of Corfellis conveyed from Harleim, and that the record was not in being in his time. Palmer himself owns, "That it is not to be found there now; for that the late earl of Pembroke assured him, that he had employed a person for some time to search for it, but in vain." Hist. of Printing, p. 314.

On these grounds we may pronounce the record to be a forgery; though all the writers above-mentioned take pains to support its credit, and call it an authentic piece.

Atkins, who by his manner of writing seems to have been a bold and vain man, might possibly be the inventor; for he had an interest in imposing it upon the world, in order to confirm the argument of his book, that *Printing was of the Prerogative Royal*; in opposition to the *Company of Stationers*, with whom he was engaged in an expensive suit of law, in defence of the *King's Patents*, under which he claimed some exclusive powers of Printing. For he tells us, p. 3, "That, upon considering the thing, he could not but think that a public person, more eminent than a mercer, and a public purse, must needs be concerned in so public a good: and the more he considered, the more inquisitive he was to find out the truth." So that he had formed his hypothesis before he had found his record; which he published, he says, "as a friend

a friend to truth ; not to suffer one man to be entitled to the worthy achievements of another ; and as a friend to himself, not to lose one of his best arguments of entitling the King to this Art." But, if Atkins was not himself the contriver, he was imposed upon at least by some more crafty ; who imagined that his interest in the cause, and the warmth that he shewed in prosecuting it, would induce him to swallow for genuine, whatever was offered of the kind [K].

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[K] On the other hand, is it likely that Mr. Atkins would dare to *forge* a record to be laid before the king and council, and which his adversaries, with whom he was at law, could disprove ? (2.) He says he received this history from a person of honour, who was some time keeper of the Lambeth Library. It was easy to have confuted this evidence, if it was false, when he published it, Apr. 25, 1664. (3.) John Bagford (who was born in England 1651, and might know Mr. Atkins, who died 1677), in his History of Printing at Oxford, blames those who doubted of the authenticity of the Lambeth Ms. ; and tells us that he knew Sir John Birkenhead had an authentic copy of it, when in 1665 [which Bagford by some mistake calls 1664, and is followed in it by Meerman] he was appointed by the house of commons to draw up a bill relating to the exercise of that art. This is confirmed by the Journals of that house, Friday, Oct. 27, 1665, vol. VIII. p. 622 ; where it is ordered that this Sir John Birkenhead should carry the bill on that head to the house of lords, for their consent.—The act was agreed to in the upper house on Tuesday Oct. 31, and received the royal assent on the same day ; immediately after which, the parliament was prorogued. See Journals of the House of Lords, Vol. XI.

We have now cleared our hands of the record; but the book stands firm, as a monument of the exercise

p. 700.—It is probable then that, after Mr. Atkins had published his book in April 1664, the parliament thought proper, the next year, to inquire into *the right of the KING's PREROGATIVE*; and that Sir John Birkenhead took care to inspect the original, then in the custody of Archbishop Sheldon: and finding it not sufficient to prove what Mr. Atkins had cited it for, made no report of the M^s. to the house; but only moved, that the former law should be renewed. — The M^s. was probably never returned to the proper keeper of it; and was afterwards burnt in the fire of London, Sept. 13, 1666. (4.) That Printing was practised at Oxford, was a prevailing opinion long before Atkins. Bryan Twyne, in his *Apologia pro Antiquitate Academiae Oxoniensis*, published 1608, tells us it is so delivered down in *ancient writings*; *having heard probably of this Lambeth M^s.* And king Charles I. in his letters patent to the University of Oxford, 5 Mar. in the eleventh of his reign, 1635, mentions Printing as brought to *Oxford* from abroad.—As to what is objected, “that it is not likely that press should undergo a ten or eleven years sleep, viz. from 1468 to 1479,” it is probably urged without foundation. Corfellis might print several books without date or name of the place, as Ulric Zell did at Cologne, from 1467 to 1473, and from that time to 1494. Corfellis's name, it may be said, appears not in any of his publications; nor does that of Joannes Peterhemius. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 34; vol. II. p. 21—27, &c.

Further, the famous SHAKESPEARE, who was born in 1564, and died 1616, in the Second Part of Henry VI.

Act

ercise of printing in Oxford six years older than any book of Caxton with date. The fact is strong, and what

Act iv. Sc. 7, introduces the rebel *John Cade*, thus upbraiding Lord Treasurer SAY: "Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm, in creating a grammar-school; and whereas before, our forefathers had no other book but the score and the tally, thou hast caused PRINTING to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill."—Whence now had Shakespeare this accusation against Lord SAY? We are told in the Poetical Register, vol. II. p. 231. ed. Lond. 1724, that it was from FABIAN, POL. VERGIL, HALL, HOLLINGSHED, GRAFTON, STOW, SPEED, &c. But not one of these ascribes Printing to the reign of Henry VI. On the contrary, Stow, in his Annals, printed at London, 1560, p. 686, gives it expressly to William Caxton, 1471. "The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germany at Magunce, by one John Guthemburgus a knight. One Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Caxton of London mercer brought it into England about the year 1471, and first practised the same in the Abbie of St. Peter at Westminster; after which time it was likewise practised in the Abbies of St. Augustine at Canturburie, Saint Albons, and other monasteries of England." What then shall we say, that the above is an anachronism arbitrarily put into the mouth of an ignorant fellow out of Shakespeare's head? I could believe so, but that we have the record of Mr. Atkins confirming the same in K. Charles the Second's time. Shall we say, that Mr. Atkins borrowed the story from Shakespeare, and published it with some improvements of money laid out by Henry VI; from whence it

what in ordinary cases passes for certain evidence of the age of books; but in this, there are such contrary facts to balance it, and such circumstances to turn the

might be received by Charles II, as a prerogative of the crown? But this is improbable, since Shakespeare makes Lord Treasurer SAY the instrument of importing it, of whom Mr. Atkins mentions not a word. Another difference there will still be between Shakespeare and the Lambeth Ms.; the Poet placing it before 1449, in which year Lord SAY was beheaded; the Ms. between 1454 and 1459, when Bouchier was Archbishop.—We must say then, that Lord SAY first laid the scheme, and sent some one to Harleim, though without success; but after some years it was attempted happily by Bouchier. And we must conclude, that as the generality of writers have overlooked the invention of Printing at Harleim with *wooden* types, and have ascribed it to Mentz where *metal* types were first made use of; so in England they have passed by Corfellis (or the first *Oxford Printer*, whoever he was, see the note [P], p. 24), who printed with wooden types at Oxford, and only mentioned Caxton, as the original artist who printed with *metal* types at Westminster. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. vii, viii.—It is strange that the learned Commentators on our great Dramatic Poet, who are so minutely particular upon less important occasions, should every one of them, Dr. JOHNSON excepted, pass by this curious passage, leaving it entirely unnoticed. And how has Dr. JOHNSON trifled, by slightly remarking, that “SHAKESPEARE is a little TOO EARLY with this accusation!”—The great Critic had undertaken to decypher obsolete words, and investigate unintelligible phrases; but never, perhaps, bestowed a thought on Caxton or Corfellis, on Mr. Atkins or the authenticity of the Lambeth Record. B. & N.

scale,

scale, that, to speak my mind freely, I take the date in question to have been falsified originally by the printer, either by design or mistake, and an x to have been dropt or omitted in the age of its impressiion.

Examples of the kind are common in the History of Printing. I have observed several dates altered very artfully after publication, to give them the credit of greater antiquity. They have at Harleim, in large quarto, a translation into Dutch of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed *anno mccccxxxv*, by Jacob Bellart: this they shew to confirm their claim to the earliest printing, and deceive the unskilful. But Mr. Bagford, who had seen another copy with a true date, discovered the cheat; by which the L had been erased so cunningly, that it was not easy to perceive it [L]. But besides the frauds of an after-contrivance, there are many false dates originally given by the printers; partly through design, to

[L] See Mr. Bagford's Papers.—Mr. Maittaire, *Annal. Typogr.* tom. I. p. 190, mentions an edition of this book at Cologne in *mccccclxx*. The copy which this gentleman had seen was in the earl of Oxford's library, and came afterwards into the hands of Mr. T. Osborn; in whose Catalogues it frequently appeared, with the date *mccccclxx*. Mr. Meerman, who was convinced that this date must either be a mistake or an imposition, had the curiosity (when, in 1759, he resided in London in a public capacity) to examine Mr. Osborn's book; which proved to be the edition of *mccccclxxxiii* (which Mr. Maittaire has also taken notice of), with the four last numerals very artfully erased. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 59. N.

raise the value of their works, but chiefly through negligence and blunder. There is a Bible at Augsberg, of the year 1449, where the two last figures are transposed, and should stand thus, 1494 : Chevillier (*Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris*, c. v. p. 96.) mentions three more ; one at Paris of 1443 ; another at Lyons, 1446 ; a third at Basil, 1450 ; though Printing was not used in any of these places till many years after. Orlandi describes three books with the like mistake from Mentz : and Jo. Koelhoff, who first printed about the year 1470, at Cologne, has dated one of his books anno mcccc. with a c omitted ; and another, anno 1458 ; which Palmer (*Hist. of Printing*, p. 179) imputes to design, rather than mistake [M].

But

[M] Mr. Meerman, after fixing the invention of Printing beyond a doubt *in the fifteenth century*, takes notice of a German tract, *von dem Cyrurgus*, 1397. This, he observes, and some other similar instances, may beyond a doubt be pronounced A FORGERY ; and there will be little danger of a mistake, if we extend this assertion to all books in general that have an earlier date than MCCCCLVII, when the *Psalter* was published at Mentz, which is the first work that is known to have a date to it. See Maittaire, *Annal. Typogr.* tom. I. p. 2. Marchand, *Hist. de l'Imprim.* p. 113. Nau-dæus, *Addit. à l'Hist. de Louis XI.* p. 110.—Some writers have ascribed the origin of Printing to the East, and affixed a much earlier period to its invention, particularly P. Jovius, *Hist. lib. xiv.* p. 226. ed. Florent. 1550, from whom Oso-rius and many others have embraced the same opinion. But these have evidently confounded the European mode of

PRINTING

But what is most to our point, is a book from the famous printer, Nicolas Jenson; of which Mr. Maittaire gave the first notice, called *Decor Puellarum*; printed anno MCCCCLXI. All the other works of Jenson were published from Venice between the years MCCCCLXX and MCCCCLXXX; which justly raised a suspicion, that an x had been dropt from the date of this, which ought to be advanced ten years forward; since it was not credible, that so great a master of the art, who at once invented and perfected it, could lie so many years idle and unemployed. The suspicion appeared to be well grounded, from an edition of Tully's *Epistles* at Venice, *the first work of another famed printer, John de Spira, anno MCCCCLXIX*[N]; who, in the four following verses, at the end of the book, claims the honour of being the first who had printed in that city:

PRINTING with the *engraved tablets* which to this day are used in China. The invention of these tablets has been ascribed by many writers even to an earlier period than the commencement of the Christian æra; but is with more probability assigned, by the very accurate PHIL. COUPLET, to the year 930. The *Historia Sinensis* of ABDALLA, written in Persic in 1317, speaks of it as an art in very common use. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 16, 218, 219; vol. II. p. 186. N.

[N] And yet in the Catalogue of the Harleian Library, vol. III. p. 231, a book is mentioned as printed at Venice a year before this of John de Spira, viz. *Fr. Maturantii de componendis versibus Hexametro et Pentametro*, by Ranolt.—Venet. 1468. B.

“ Primus

"Primus in Adriaca formis impressit aënis
 Urbe libros Spirâ genitus de stirpe Johannes.
 In reliquis sit quanta, vides, spes, lector, habenda,
 Quum labor hic primus calamis superaverit artem."

It is, I know, the more current opinion, confirmed by the testimony of contemporary writers, that *Jenson was the first printer at Venice* [O]: But these verses of John de Spira, published *at the time*, as well as *the place*, in which they both lived, and *in the face of his rival Jenson*, without any contradiction from him, seem to have a weight too great to be overruled by any foreign evidence whatsoever.

But whilst I am now writing, an unexpected instance is fallen into my hands, to the support of my opinion; an *Inauguration Speech of the Woodwardian Professor, Mr. Mason*, just fresh from the press, with its date given ten years earlier than it should have been, by the omission of an x, viz. MDCCXXIV; and the very blunder exemplified in the last piece printed at Cambridge, which I suppose to have happened in the first from Oxford [P].

These

[O] Maittaire, *Annal. Typ.* tom. I. p. 36, &c. It. Append. ad tom. I. p. 5, 6.

[P] The following curious remarks, on this passage of Dr. Middleton, appeared in *The Weekly Miscellany*, Saturday, April 26, 1735, in a letter signed OXONIDES: "I think the learned author has sufficiently exposed the idle story of FREDERICK CORSELLIS, and entirely concur with him

These instances, with many more that might be collected, shew the possibility of my conjecture; and, for

him in rejecting it. But when he compliments CAXTON with the name of our First Printer, notwithstanding the authority of a book printed at *Oxford*, and dated in the year MCCCCLXVIII, I cannot go so far with him. We should not pretend to set aside the authority of a *plain date*, without very strong and cogent reasons; and I am afraid what the Doctor has in this case advanced will not appear, on examination, to carry that weight with it that he seems to imagine. There may be, and have been, mistakes and forgeries in the date both of books and of records too; but this is never allowed as a reason for suspecting such as bear no mark of either. We cannot, from a blunder in the last book printed at Cambridge, infer the like blunder in the first book printed at Oxford. Besides, the *type* used in this our Oxford edition seems to be no small proof of its antiquity. It is the *German* letter, and very nearly the same with that used by FUST [who has been supposed to be] the first Printer; whereas CAXTON and ROOD use a quite different letter, something between this *German* and our old *English* letter, which was soon after introduced by DE WORDE and PYNSON. Lastly, the supposed year of this edition is much about the time that the printers at Mentz dispersed, and carried the art of Printing with them to most parts of Europe. This circumstance, joined to that of the letter, inclines me to think, *that one of these printers might then come over to England, and follow his profession at Oxford.* These, I must own, are only conjectural proofs, nor can we expect any other in the present case. We find most points of antiquity involved in obscurity; and, what is not

for the probability of it, the book itself affords sufficient proof: For, not to insist on what is less material, the *neatness of the letter, and regularity of the page*, &c. above those of Caxton; it has one mark, that seems to carry the matter beyond probable, and to make it even certain, viz, *the use of signatures*, or letters of the alphabet placed at the bottom of the page, to shew the sequel of the page and leaves of each book: an improvement contrived for the direction of the bookbinders; which yet was not practised or invented at the time when this book is sup-

a little surprizing, the Art of Printing, which has given light to most other things, hides its own head in darkness.—But our ingenious Dissertator seems to think his proofs attended with more certainty. Let us then examine what he says: And first, the neatness of the letter, and the regularity of the page, prove, if any thing, the very reverse of what the Doctor asserts. The art of Printing was almost in its infancy brought to perfection, but afterwards debased by later printers, who consulted rather the cheapness, than the neatness of their work. Our learned Dissertator cannot be unacquainted with the labours of FUST and JENSON. He must know, that though other printers may have printed more correctly, yet scarce any excell them, either in the neatness of the letter, or the regularity of the page. The same may be observed in our English printers. CAXTON and ROOD were indifferently good printers: DE WORDE and PYNSON were worse; and those that follow them most abominable. This our *anonymous Oxford Printer* excells them all; and for this very reason I should judge him to be the most ancient of all." N.

posed

posed to be printed: for we find no signatures in the books of Faust or Scheffer at Mentz; nor in the improved or beautiful impressions of John de Spira, and Jenfon, at Venice, till several years later. We have a book in our library, that seems to fix the very time of their invention, at least in Venice; the place where the art itself received the greatest improvements: *Baldi lectura super Codic. &c.* printed by John de Colonia and Jo. Manthen de Gherretzem, anno MCCCCLXXIIII: it is a large and fair volume in folio, *without signatures*, till about the middle of the book, in which they are first introduced, and so continued forward: which makes it probable, that the first thought of them was suggested during the impression; for we have likewise *Lectura Bartholi super Codic. &c.* in two noble and beautiful volumes in folio, printed the year before at the same place, by Vindelino de Spira, without them: yet from this time forward they are generally found in all the works of the Venetian printers, and from them propagated to the other printers of Europe. They were used at Cologne, in 1475; at Paris, 1476; by Caxton, not before 1480: but if the discovery had been brought into England and practised at Oxford twelve years before, it is not probable that he would have printed so long at Westminster without them [Q].

Mr.

[Q] Dr. Middleton is mistaken in the time and place of the invention of signatures. They are to be found even in

Mr. Palmer indeed tells us, p. 180, 54, that Anthony Zarot was esteemed the inventor of signatures; and

very ancient Mss. which the earliest printers very studiously imitated; and they were used in some editions from the office of Laurence Coster (from whence Corfellis came), which consisted of wooden cuts; as in *Figura typica et anti-typica Novi Testamenti*: and in some editions of the metal letters, as in *Gasp. Pergamensis epistolæ*, published at Paris, without a date, but printed A. D. 1470; (Maittaire, *Annal.* vol. I. p. 25;) and in *Mammetreclus*, printed by Helias de Llouffen, at Bern in Switzerland, 1470; and in *De Tondeli visione*, at Antwerp, 1472. Venice, therefore, was not the place where they were first introduced.—They began to be used in Baldus, it seems, when the book was half finished. The printer of that book might not know, or did not think, of the use of them before. See MEERMAN, vol. II, p. 28; and *Phil. Trans.* vol. XXIII. N° 208. p. 1509;—OXONIDES says, “Our Dissertator lays great stress on the use of signatures. But I am afraid no certain conclusion can be drawn either from the use or non-use of these lesser improvements of Printing. They have in different places come in use at different times, and have not been continued regularly even at the same places. If Anthony Zarot used them at Milan in 1470, it is certain later printers there did not follow his example; and the like might happen also in England. But what is more full to our purpose, we have in the Bodleian library an *Æsop’s Fables* printed by Caxton. This is, I believe, the first book which has the leaves numbered. But yet this improvement, though more useful than that of the signatures, was disused both by Caxton himself, and other later printers in England,

and that they are found in a Terence printed by him at Milan in the year 1470, in which he first printed. I have not seen that Terence; and can only say, that I have observed the want of them in some later works of this, as well as of other excellent printers, of the same place. But allowing them to be in the Terence, and Zarot the inventor, it confutes the date of our Oxford book, as effectually, as if they were of later origin at Venice; as I had reason to imagine, from the testimony of all the books that I have hitherto met with.

What farther confirms my opinion is, that from the time of the pretended date of this book, anno 1468, we have no other fruit or production from the press at Oxford for eleven years next following; and it cannot be imagined that a press, established with so much pains and expence, could be suffered to be so long idle and useles [R]: whereas, if my conjecture be admitted,

land. It is therefore not at all surprizing (if true) that the signatures, though invented by our Oxford Printer, might not immediately come into general use. And consequently, this particular carries with it no such certain or effectual confutation as our Dissertator boasts of." B. & N.

[R] To this it may be answered, in the words of Oxonides: "1st, That his books may have been lost. Our first printers, in those days of ignorance, met with but small encouragement: they printed but few books, and but few copies of those books. In after-times, when the same books were re-printed more correctly, those first editions, which

admitted, all the difficulties that seem insuperable and inconsistent with the supposed æra of Printing there, will vanish at once. For allowing the book to have been printed ten years later, anno 1478; then the use of signatures can be no objection: a foreign printer might import them; Caxton take them up from him; and the course of Printing and sequel of books published from Oxford will proceed regularly:

Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum. MCCCCLXXVIII. Oxonie, 1478

Leonardi Aretini in Aristot. Ethic. Comment. ib. 1479

Egidius de Roma, &c. de peccato originali, ib. 1479

which were not as yet become curiosities, were put to common uses. This is the reason that we have so few remains of our first printers. We have only four books of Theodoric Rood, who seems by his own verses to have been a very celebrated Printer. Of John Lettou, William de Machlinia, and the School-master of St. Alban's, we have scarce any remains. If this be considered, it will not appear impossible that our Printer should have followed his business from 1468 to 1479, and yet Time have destroyed his intermediate works. But, 2dly, we may account still another way for this distance of time, without altering the date. The Civil Wars broke out in 1469: this might probably oblige our Oxford Printer to shut up his press; both himself and his Reader might be otherwise engaged. If this were the case, he might not return to his work again till 1479; and the next year, not meeting with that encouragement he deserved, he might remove to some other country with his types." N.

Guido

Guido de Columna de Historia Trojana, per
 T. R. ib. 1480
 Alexandri ab Hales, &c. expositio super 3
 Librum de Animâ, per me Theod. Rood. ib. 1481
 Franc. Aretini Oratoris Phalaridis Epistolarum
 e Græco in Latinum Versio. Hoc opuscu-
 lum in Alma Universitate Oxoniæ, a natali
 Christiano ducentesima & nonagesima septima
 Olympiade feliciter impressum est. That is, 1485

“ Hoc teodoricus Rood quem Collonia misit
 Sanguine Germanus nobile præsit¹ opus.
 Atque sibi socius Thomas fuit Anglicus Hunté
 Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant!
 Quam Jenson Venetos docuit Vir Gallicus artem
 Ingenio didicit terra Britannia suo.
 Celatos Veneti nobis transmittere libros
 Cedite, nos aliis vendimus. O Veneti
 Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota Latini
 Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta præ².
 Quamvis sæctos³ toto canit orbe Britannos
 Virgilius placet⁴ his lingua Latina tamen [S].”

¹ præsit² premens³ sejunctos⁴ placet

These

[S] The only copy of this book, that I have heard of, is
 in the possession of the rev. Mr. Randolph of Deal; and the
 first notice of it was communicated by the rev. Mr. Lewis
 of Mergate; who, having been informed that I had drawn
 up this little Dissertation, very kindly offered me the use of
 his notes and papers, that he had collected with great pains,

on

These are all the books printed at Oxford before the year 1500, that we have hitherto any certain notice of. I have set down the colophon and verses of the last, because they have something curious and historical in them. I had seen one instance before of the date of a book computed by OLYMPIADS; *Aufonii Epigrammaton libri, &c.*; printed at Venice, anno 1472, with this designation of the year at the end; "A nativitate Christi ducentefimæ nonagesimæ quintæ Olympiadis anno 11;" (Maittaire, *Annal. Typ.* p. 98, not.^h) where the printer, as in the present case, follows the common mistake, both of the ancients and moderns, of taking the OLYMPIAD for a term of FIVE YEARS compleat; whereas it really included but FOUR, and was celebrated every FIFTH; as the LUSTRUM likewise of the Romans [T]. In our
Oxford

on the *History and Progress of English Printing to the End of Queen Elisabeth's Reign*. From the perusal of which, though I found no reason to make any alteration of moment in the present Treatise, yet I had a pleasure to observe a perfect agreement between us, in the chief points on which my argument turns, and to find my own opinion confirmed by the judgment of so able an antiquary.

Dr. MIDDLETON.

[T] An *Olympiad* was undoubtedly the space of FOUR years compleat, and a *Lustrum* of FIVE. But many of the moderns have confounded them, by including each within four years. Selden, *De Jure Nat. & Gentium*, l. iii. p. 360, ed. 1725, observes the same; but takes notice that the mis-

Oxford book the year of the Olympiad is not distinguished, as in that of Venice, so that it might possibly

take was common to both terms, each of them being sometimes reckoned as FOUR YEARS, sometimes as FIVE: "Per similem in lustris & olympiadibus, quibus nunc quinquennia, nunc quadriennia tribuuntur, supputandi rationem nemo nescit."

Noris takes notice that Ovid confounds the space of the Olympiad with the *Lustrum*, Trist. IV. x. 95. "Ovidius, scribens se anno ætatis quinquagesimo exacto, in exilium deportatum, ait,

"Postque meos ortus Pisæâ vinctus olivâ

Abstulerat decies præmia victor eques;" ubi Pisæorum quadriennes Olympiades cum Romanis Lustris confundit." Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 2. ed. 1681.

On the other hand, a *Lustrum* is supposed to contain only FOUR years by H. Glareanus in Chronologia Dion. Halicarn. p. 759, ed. Sylburg. and by Erasmus Schmidius in his Prolegomena ad Pindarum, p. 15: "Et ab hoc annorum quatuor completorum circuitu etiam τριπαστεπὶς nominabatur, plane ut apud Romanos LUSTRUM, quod et ipsum erat quatuor annorum completorum spatium, ubi quarto quoque exacto anno populus Romanus lustrabatur."

The *Lustrum* is supposed to have contained only four years in Pliny N. H. ii. 47: "Et est principium Lustris ejus semper intercalari anno Caniculæ ortu." But he applies the word in a borrowed sense, to express not only the periodical returns, but the cleansing office of the winds, in that respect like the *Lustrum*.

But the proper sense of these words among the ancients was, that an *Olympiad* signified FOUR years, and

possibly be printed somewhat earlier and nearer to the rest in order of time; but as the seventh verse seems to refer

a *Lustrum* FIVE. The first is proved by demonstrable authority, because the Grecians inserted their intercalary month of XLV days after three years of 354 days; and appointed these games *on the fourth year*, for the regular notoriety of the fact. Blondel, Rom. Cal. liv. II, c. 4; and Prid. Connect. part I. book v. p. 222. ed. Fol.

There are other authorities without number: Ὀλυμπιάς πλεονεχέται κατὰ τέσσαρας χρόνους, Diod. Sic. 44. A. ed. Rhodom.; and no one ever read of above the *fourth* year of the I, II, III, IV, or any other Olympiad. But this period of an OLYMPIAD Dr. MIDDLETON allows.

That the LUSTRUM contained *five* years, is clear, I think, from undoubted testimony: in vain else would Horace have told the girl she need not shun him, as being too rampant, since he was arrived at the *eighth* Lustrum, which surely is more probably at XL years of age than XXXII:

“Fuge suspicari,
Cujus OCTAVUM trepidavit ætas
Claudere LUSTRUM.” Lib. II. Od. iv. 22.
So again, from Augustus’s conquest of Alexandria, U. C. 724, to his victory over the Rhoeti, U. C. 739 (as Dio relates, lib. LIV.), Horace describes

“Fortuna LUSTRO prospera TERTIO
Belli secundos reddidit exitus.” Lib. IV. Od. xiv. 37.
Where Acron indeed supposes the LUSTRUM to be a term of only FOUR years, reckoning XII years from Augustus’s first consulship to the end of the civil wars; in which he is followed, as we observed before, by Glareanus.—But, whichever it is, *prose writers* are express for FIVE years. Varro says, “Lustrum nominatum tempus quinquennale à luendo,

refer to the statute 1 Richard III, prohibiting the Italians from importing and selling their wares in England

i. e. solvendo, quod quinto quoque anno vectigalia et tributa per censores solvebantur."—See likewise Horace, l. IV. Od. i. ver. 6.

It must be owned Antonius Nebrissenfis, in his *Quinquagena*, c. xx. printed in the *Critici Sacri*, tom. IX. ed. Amst. labours to prove a *Lustrum* to be only FOUR years, from two or three passages in the Roman poets, who sometimes take the liberty of so applying it; but with much better authority is it fixed to be FIVE years by Jo. Castello, in his *Variae Lectiones*, c. xix. See *Fax Artium*, tom. IV. c. 19.

Dr. Middleton resumes this subject in his *Roman Senate*, A. D. 1747; part I. p. 107, 8vo. [vol. III. p. 429, of the 4to edition of his works]; and says, that "as the census was supposed to be celebrated every *fifth* year; and as it was accompanied always by a *Lustration* of the people; so the word *Lustrum* has constantly been taken, both by ancients and moderns, for a term of FIVE years. Yet we shall find no good ground for fixing so precise a signification to it; but, on the contrary, that the Census and Lustrum were, for the most part, held irregularly and uncertainly, at very different and various intervals of time, as the particular exigencies of the state required."—But, 1. We have seen it was "NOT constantly taken for a term of FIVE years both by ancients and moderns;" so that this sense of FOUR years is not SOLELY Dr. MIDDLETON's, though he will suffer no one else to share in the honour of it. 2. If it was constantly taken so both by *ancients* and *moderns*, one would think that should determine the period; though the Romans might, for particular exigencies of state, vary from the prescribed

England by retail, &c. excepting books written or printed; which act passed in 1483, so it could not be printed before that year. The third verse rescues from oblivion the name of an English printer, THOMAS HUNTE, not mentioned before by any of our English writers, nor discovered in any other book. But what I take for the most remarkable, and lay the greatest stress upon, is that in the sixth verse, "the art and use of Printing is affirmed to have been first set on foot and practised in this island by our own countrymen [U]:" which must consequently have

time of the ceremony. 3. Mr. Hooke has shewn (*Observations, in Answer to L'Abbé Vertot, &c. p. 153, 157*), "that there is good reason to believe, the seven first Lustrums, after the establishment of the commonwealth, were regularly held every *five* years: consequently that there was sufficient ground in FACT for fixing the term of FIVE years to the word *Lustrum*.—For the first SEVEN Lustrums, under the consuls, will carry us through an interval of exactly *thirty-five* years, from A. U. 245."—The Doctor had no occasion to have laboured this point here at least; but his plenary knowledge in the Roman constitution would not suffer him to bear any contradiction in it. B.

[U] We shall make no apology for introducing one more remark from OXONIDES: "Dr. Middleton's translation of the sixth verse is a sense, I believe, ROOD never thought of. His verses seem rather designed to extol *his own press* than that of Caxton; and the meaning I take to be no more than this, that the Art of Printing, for which the Venetians, and particularly Jenson, had been so famous, was

now

have a reference to CAXTON; who has no rival of this country to dispute the honour with him. And so we are furnished at last from Oxford itself, with a testimony that overthrows the date of their own book.

Theodoric Rood, we see, came from Cologne (where Caxton had resided many years, and instructed himself in the Art of Printing) in 1471: and, being so well acquainted with the place, and particularly the printers of it, might probably be the instrument of bringing over this or any other printer a year or two before (if there really was any such) to be

now practised with equal success in England. Our Dissertator's quotation from Caxton will prove but little, unless he can shew, that no printer, at any place, ever talked of the *novelty* of his art, without being the first importer of it. As to his citations from other later writers, who mention Caxton as our first printer, it may be sufficient to answer in his own words, that "it is very unsafe to trust to common history, and necessary to recur to original testimonies, if we would know the state of facts with exactness."

Our ingenious author has himself detected several mistakes, which our writers have universally fallen into, and taken up from each other. If we consider that our Oxford Printer met with very small encouragement, printed probably but few books, and did not put his name to those, it is no wonder that his name and memory should be soon lost; nor will it be surprizing that CAXTON should run away with the credit of being the first printer here, who lived many years in great repute, printed a very considerable number of books, and flourished in the sunshine of the court!" N.

employed

employed at Oxford; and the obscure tradition of this fact give rise to the FICTION of the RECORD. But however this be, it seems pretty clear that Caxton's being so well known at Cologne, and his setting up a press at home immediately after his return from that place, which could hardly be a secret to Rood, must be the ground of the compliment paid to our country, and the very thing referred to in the verses [X].

[X] The whole scope of the above colophon shews that the words of the sixth verse are not to be taken in too literal a sense: "Jensius, a Frenchman, taught the art of Printing to the Venetians: but Britain learnt it from her own ingenuity." Neither of these circumstances is strictly true. Jenson, who began printing at Venice A. D. MCCCCLXX, was preceded *two* years by Joannes de Spira; who says himself, in the edition of Cicero's Epistles ad Familiares, MCCCCLXIX, that "he first taught it to the Venetians:" though the book above referred to, p. 23, note [N], may seem to dispute his claim. Whether Caxton or Corfellis brought Printing into Britain, the art was learnt abroad. The sense then of the poet seems to be, that as Jenson, a foreigner, had brought Printing to great perfection at Venice, the English were indebted to a native for similar improvements. To denote this excellence, he calls the impression of Thomas Hunte *celatos libros*, books ENGRAVED; using that term to set his Printing in an advantageous light, who, with his partner Rood, would in time excell the Venetians. A like compliment is paid by Nicolas Gupalitinus to Clemens Patavinus, in the preface to an edition of Mesuas, *De Medicinis universalibus*, Ven. MCCCCLXXI. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 35, 36. B. & N.

We

We have one book more, without the name of printer or place, which, from the comparison of the types with those of Rood, is judged to be of his printing, and added to the catalogue of his works by Mr. Lewis in his *Mf. Papers*, viz.

“*Exposicio ac moralisacio tertij capituli trenorum Iheremie prophete. Fol. mccccclxxxii.*”

And at the end of the index,

“*Explicit tabula super opus trenorum compilatum per Johann. Latteburij ordinis minorum.*”

But the identity of the letter in different books, though a probable argument, is not always a certain one for the identity of the press.

Besides this early Printing at Oxford, *our Library* gives us proof of the use of it likewise, about the same time, in the city of London, much earlier than our writers had imagined, with the names of two of *the first printers* there, that none of them take notice of; JOHN LETTOUN and WILL. DE MACHLINIA. Of the first, we have, “*Jacobus de Valencia in Psalterium, &c. excus. in civitate Londoniensi, ad expensas Johannem Wilcock, per me Johannem Lettou mccccclxxxi. fol.*” Of the second; “*Speculum Christiani, &c.*” and at the end; “*Iste libellus impressus est in opulentissima Civitate Londoniarum per Willelmum Machlinia, ad instantiam neqnon expensas Henrici Urankerbergh mercatoris.*” Quarto: without date, but in a very coarse and Gothic character, more rude than Caxton’s: and from both these printers in partnership, we have the first edition

tion of the famous *Littleton's Tenures*; printed at London, in a small folio, without date; which his Great Commentator, the Lord Chief Justice Coke, had not seen or heard of: for in the Preface to his *Institutes*, he says, "That this work was not published in print either by Judge Littleton himself, or Richard his son; and that the first edition, that he had seen, was printed at Roan in Normandy, ad instantiam Richardi Pynson, printer to King Henry VIII." We have this edition also in our Library, but it is undoubtedly later by thirty or forty years than the other we are speaking of; which, as far as we may collect from the time noted above, in which Joh. Letton printed, was probably published, or at least put to the press, by the author himself, who died in 1481.

Whilst Printing was thus going forward at Westminster, Oxford, and London, there was a press also employed at St. Alban's, by the *Schoolmaster* of that place; whose name has not had the fortune to be transmitted to us, though he is mentioned as a man of merit, and friend of Caxton. He had drawn up and printed in English, a Book of Chronicles, commonly called "*Fructus Temporum*, anno 1483," which I have never been able to meet with: but in a later edition of it after his death, there is the following Colophon:

"Here endyth this present cronycle of Englund with the frute of tymes, compiled in a booke and enpnynted by one sometyme Scolemayster of St. Al-

bons,

bons, on whoos foule God have mercy, and newly enprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn de Worde. MCCCCLXXXVII.”

It was the same schoolmaster, without doubt, who printed three years before in Latin:

“*Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Soana ordinis minorum, compilata in alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ ann. 1478, impressa apud Villam S^ti Albani. MCCCCLXXX.*”

This was once in bishop More's library, being described in the printed catalogue of his other rare books [Y]: but it is now lost, or stolen from that noble collection; which, by an example of munificence scarce to be paralleled, was given to our University by his Majesty King George I, and will remain a perpetual monument of the great mind and publick spirit of that Prince.

The same book is mentioned by Mr. Strype among those given by archbishop Parker to Corpus-Christi college in Cambridge; but the words, *compilata in Universitate Cantabrigiæ*, have drawn this learned Antiquary into the mistake of imagining, that it was printed also that year at *our* University, and of doing us the honour of remarking upon it, “So ancient was Printing in Cambridge.” *Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 519.

We have one piece however in our library from this press, in a small folio, and at the end of it the following advertisement:

[Y] Catal. Libror. Manuscriptor. Angl. Oxon. p. 391.

G

“There

“ There in thys boke afore ar contenyt the bokys of haukyng and huntyng with other plesuris dyverse. And also of coote armuris a nobull werke. And here now endyth the boke of blasfing of armys, tranflatyt and complyt togedyr at Saynt Albons MCCCCLXXXVI.”

After the first treatise of hawking and hunting, &c. is added, “ Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes in her boke of huntyng.” Though her name be subjoined to the first part only, yet the whole is constantly ascribed to her, and passes for her work. She was of a noble family, sister to Richard lord Berners of Effex, and prioress of Sopwell nunnery near St. Alban’s: she lived about the year 1460, and is celebrated by Leland and other writers for her uncommon learning and accomplishments, under the name of Juliana Berners.

I shall now return to Mr. CAXTON, and state as briefly as I can the positive evidence that remains of his being the first printer of this kingdom; for what I have already alledged, is chiefly negative or circumstantial. And here, as I hinted at setting out, all our writers before the Restoration, who mention the introduction of the art amongst us, give him the credit of it, without any contradiction or variation. Stowe, in his Survey of London, speaking of the 37th year of Henry VI, or 1458, says, “ The noble Science of Printing was about this time found at Magunce by Joh. Guttemberg, a knight; and WILLIAM CAXTON of London, mercer, brought it into England, about
the

the year 1471, and first practised the same in the abbey of Westminster." Trussel gives the same account in the History of Henry VI, and Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle: and Mr. Howell, in his Londonopolis, describes the place where the Abbot of Westminster set up the first press for Caxton's use, in the Almonry or Ambry. But above all, the famous Joh. Leland, Library-keeper to Henry VIII, who by way of honour had the title of *The Antiquary*, and lived near to Caxton's own time, expressly calls him, "The first Printer of England," (De Script. Brit. p. 480,) and speaks honourably of his works: and as he had spent some time in Oxford, after having first studied and taken a degree at Cambridge, he could hardly be ignorant of the Origin and History of Printing in that University [Z]. I cannot forbear

[Z] Leland calls Caxton, *The first Printer of England*; meaning that he was the first who practised that art with *fusile Types*, and consequently first brought it to perfection; and this is not inconsistent with Corfellis's having printed earlier at Oxford with *separate cut Types in Wood*, which was the only method he had learnt at Harleim. In like manner the epitaph on THEODORIC MARTENS, who practised this art at Alost above sixty years, and died May 28, 1534, aged more than eighty, describes HIM as the *Inventor* of Printing: "Qui artem characterizandi è Superiori Germania, Galliaque, in Inferiorem hanc Germaniam transtulit;" that is, *on metal types*, which were universally used in Germany and Gaul when Martens was a young man, and were styled, by way of eminence, *ars impressoria*, or *cha acteri- zandi*. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 97, 98. vol. II. p. 34. B. & N.

adding, for the sake of a name so celebrated, the more modern testimony of Mr. Henry Wharton, (Append. ad Cave, Hist. Liter. p. 49;) who affirms "Caxton to have been the first that imported the Art of Printing into this kingdom." On whose authority, I imagine, the no less celebrated M. du Pin styles him likewise the first printer of England. (Eccles. Hist. Cent. xiv. p. 71. ed. Engl.)

To the attestation of our historians, who are clear in favour of Caxton, and quite silent concerning an earlier press at Oxford, the works of Caxton himself add great confirmation; the *rudeness of the letter*; *irregularity of the page*; *want of signatures*; *initial letters*, &c. in his first impressions, give a prejudice at sight of their being the first productions of the art amongst us. But, besides these circumstances, I have taken notice of a passage in one of his books, (Recole, &c. in the end of the third book,) that amounts in a manner to a direct testimony of it. "Thus end I this book, &c. and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery, and myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper—and that age crepeth on me dayly—and also because I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastily as I might this sayd book: Therefore I have practysed, and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this sayd book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other boke ben to thende that
every

every man may have them attones, for all the bookes of this storye, named, the Recule of the histories of Troyes, thus empyntid as ye here see, were begonne in oon day and also finished in oon day, &c." Now this is the very *style and language of the first Printers*, as every body knows, who has been at all conversant with old books. Faust and Scheffer, the inventors, set the example in their first works from Mentz; by advertising the publick at the end of each, "That they were not drawn or written by a pen (as all books had been before), but made by a new art and invention of printing, or stamping them by characters or types of metal set in forms." In imitation of whom, the succeeding printers, in most cities of Europe, where the art was new, generally gave the like advertisement; as we may see from Venice, Rome, Naples, Verona, Basil, Augsburg, Louvain, &c. just as our Caxton, in the instance above.

In Pliny's Natural History, printed at Venice, we have the following verses:

"Quem modo tam rarum cupiens vix lector haberet;

Quiq; etiam fractus pœne legendus eram:

Restituit Venetis me nuper Spira Johannes;

Exscripsitq; libros ære notante meos.

Fessa manus quondam, moneo, calamusq; quiescat:

Namq; labor studio cessit & ingenio. MCCCCLXVIII."

In a Spanish history of Rodericus Santius, printed at Rome:

"De mandato R. P. D. Roderici Episcopi Palentini Auctoris hujus libri, ego UDALRICUS GALLUS sine calamo aut pennis eund, librum impressi."

At the end of Cicero's Philippic Orations :

"Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde, quod alis
 Contreperes, Gallus decidit ; Ultor adest
 ULDRICUS GALLUS : ne quem poscantur in usum,
 Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
 Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.
 Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo."

In Eusebius's Chronicon, printed in Latin at Milan :

"Omnibus ut pateant, tabulis impressit ahenis
 Utile Lavania gente Philippus opus.
 Haftenus hoc toto rarum fuit orbe volumen,
 Quod vix, qui ferret tædia, scriptor erat.
 Nunc ope Lavaniæ numerosa volumina nostri
 Ære perexiguo qualibet urbe legunt."

And as this is a strong proof of his being *our first Printer* ; so it is a probable one, that this very book was *the First* of his printing. I have never seen the *Liber Festialis*, a book without date, which Mr. Palmer (*Hist. of Printing*, p. 340), takes for *his first* : but the reasons assigned for it, seem to agree full as well to the Recule of the Histories of Troy : and had he met with this perfect in the end of the third book, he would probably have been of another mind. Caxton had finished the translation of the two first books at Cologne in 1471 : and having then good leisure, resolved to translate the third at the same place, (Recule, &c. end of the second book ;) in the end of which, we have the passage recited above.

above. Now in his other books translated, as this was, from the French, he commonly marks the precise time of his entering on the translation; of his finishing it; and of his putting it afterwards into the press: which used to follow each other with little or no intermission, and were generally compleated within the compass of a few months. So that in the present case, after he had finished the translation, which must be in, or soon after, the year 1471, it is not likely that he would delay the impression longer than was necessary for the preparing of his materials; especially as he was engaged by promise to his friends, who seem to have been pressing and in haste, to deliver copies of it to them as soon as possible.

But as in the case of the *First Printer*, so in this of his *First Work*, we have a testimony also from himself in favour of this book: for I have observed that, in the recital of his works, he mentions it the first in order, before "the Book of Chesse," which seems to be a good argument of its being actually *the first*. "Whan I had—accomplished dyvers werkys and hystorys translated out of frenshe into englishe at the requeste of certayn lordes ladyes and gentylmen, as the Recuyel of the Historyes of Troye, the Book of Chesse, the Historye of Jason, the Historye of the Mirrour of the World—I have submysed myself to translate into englishe the Legende of Sayntes, called Legenda Aurea in latyn—and Wylyam Erle of Arondel desyred me—and promysed to take a resonable quantyte of them—sente to me a
worshipful

worshipful gentylman—promysing that my sayd lord should duryng my lyf geve and graunt to me a yerely fee, that is to note, a buck in sommer and a doo in wynter, &c.” (Maittaire, Supplem. ad Tom. I. Annal. p. 440, not. 4.)

All this, added to the common marks of earlier antiquity, which are more observable in this, than in any other of his books that I have yet seen, viz. *the rudeness of the letter*; *the incorrectness of the language*; and *the greater mixture of French words*, than in his later pieces; makes me conclude it to be his *first work*; executed when he came fresh from a long residence in foreign parts. Nay, there are some circumstances to make us believe, that it was actually printed abroad at Cologne, where he finished the translation, and where he had been *practising and learning the Art*: for after the account given above, of his having learnt to print, he immediately adds, “Whiche book I have presented to my sayd redoubtid lady Margrete, Duchesse of Burgoyne, &c. and she hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me, &c.” which seems to imply his continuance abroad till after the impression, as well as the translation of the book [AA]. The conjecture is much strengthened by another fact attested of him; That he did really print at Cologne the first edition of “Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum,” in Latin:

[AA] It is not said, or supposed, that Caxton came over with Corfellis, though he was an assistant with Turnour in getting him off. See above, p. 4. B.

which is affirmed by Wynkyn de Worde, in an English edition of the same book, in the following lines [BB]:

“And also of your charyte beare in remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton first printer of this
boke,

In laten tongue at Coleyn himself to advaunce,
That every well disposyd man may thereon loke.”

I have never seen, or met with any one who has seen, this *Latin* edition of Bartholomæus by Caxton. It is certain, that the same book was printed at Cologn by Jo. Koelhof, and the first that appears of his printing, in the year 1470 [CC], whilst Caxton was at the place, and busying himself in the art: and if we suppose him to have been the encourager and promoter of the work, or to have furnished the expence of it, he might possibly on that account be considered at home as the author of it.

It is now time to make an end, lest I be censured for spending too much pains on an argument so inconsiderable; where my only view is to set right

[BB] Maittaire, *Ann. Append. ad Tom. I. p. 31.*

[CC] *Ibid.* p. 296.—This supposition is entirely overthrown by an undoubted proof of the date MCCCCLXX, in the copy Dr. MIDDLETON refers to, having been altered from MCCCCLXXXIII, by an erasure. See Note [L], p. 21. It is however extremely probable, from the verses of Wynkin de Worde, that the *first edition* of this book was printed by Caxton at Cologn, without the name of place or printer. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 59, 60. N.

some little points of history, that had been falsely or negligently treated by our writers, to which the course of my studies and employment engaged me to pay some attention: and above all, to do a piece of justice to the memory of our worthy countryman WILLIAM CAXTON; nor suffer him to be robbed of the glory so clearly due to him, of having *first imported into this kingdom* an art of great use and benefit to mankind: a kind of merit, that, in the sense of all nations, gives the best title to true praise, and the best claim to be commemorated with honour to posterity: and it ought to be inscribed on his monument, what I find declared of another printer, Bartholomæus Bottonus of Reggio; PRIMUS EGO IN PATRIA MODQ CHARTAS ARE SIGNAVI, ET NOVUS BIBLIOPOLA FUI, &c. (Maittaire, Append. ad tom. I. p. 432. in not.)

He had been bred very reputably in the way of trade, and served an apprenticeship to one Robert Large, a mercer; who, after having been sheriff and lord mayor of London, died in the year 1441, and left by will, as may be seen in the Prerogative-office, XXIII marks to his apprentice WILLIAM CAXTON: a considerable legacy in those days, and an early testimonial of his good character and integrity.

From the time of his master's death, he spent the following thirty years beyond sea, in the business of merchandize: where, in the year 1464, we find him employed by Edward IV, in a publick and honourable negotiation, jointly with one Richard Whitehill, esq; to transact and conclude a treaty of commerce
between

between the king and his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, to whom Flanders belonged. The commission styles them, "Ambaffiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos speciales;" and gives to both or either of them full powers to treat, &c. [DD].

Whoever turns over his printed works, must contract a respect for him, and be convinced that he preserved the same character through life; of an honest, modest man; greatly industrious to do good to his country, to the best of his abilities, by spreading among the people such books as he thought useful to religion and good-manners, which were chiefly translated from the French. The novelty and usefulness of his art recommended him to the special notice and favour of the great; under whose protection, and at whose expence, the greatest part of his works were published. Some of them are addressed to king Edward the Fourth; his brother the Duke of Clarence; and their sister the Dutcheſs of Burgundy; in whose service and pay he lived many years, before he began to print; as he oft acknowledges with great gratitude. He printed likewise for the use, and by the exprefs order, of Henry the Seventh; his son Prince Arthur; and many of the principal nobility and gentry of that age: all which confirms the notion of his being *the First Printer*; for he would hardly have been so much caressed and employed, had there been an earlier and abler artist all the while at Ox-

[DD] Rymer, Fœd. tom. XI. p. 536. Item Maittaire, Ann. Typ. Append. ad tom. I. p. 33.

ford, who yet had no employment at all for the space of eleven years.

It has been generally asserted and believed, that all his books were printed in the Abbey of Westminster; yet we have no assurance of it from himself, nor any mention of the place before the year 1477: so that he had been printing several years, without telling us where. There is one mistake however, worth the correcting, that the writers have universally fallen into, and taken up from each other; That John Illip was the abbot who first encouraged the art, and entertained the artist in his house: whereas I find upon enquiry, that he was not made abbot till four years after Caxton's death; and that Thomas Milling was abbot in 1470, made bishop of Hereford a few years after [1474], and probably held the abbey *in commendam* till the year 1485, in which John Estney next succeeded: so that Milling, who was reputed a great scholar, must have been the generous friend and patron of Caxton, who gave that liberal reception to an art so beneficial to learning [EE].

This shews how unsafe it is to trust to common history, and how necessary it is to recur to original testimonies, where we would know the state of facts with exactness. Mr. EACHARD, at the end of Edward the Fourth's reign, among the learned of that age, mentions WILLIAM CAXTON as a writer of English History; but seems to doubt whether he was the same with the printer of that name. Had he ever

[EE] Willis's History of Mitred Abbeys, vol. I. p. 206.

looked

looked into Caxton's books, the doubt had been cleared; or had he consulted his Chronicle of England [FF], which it is strange that an English Historian could neglect, he would have learnt at least to fix the beginning of that reign with more exactness, as it is noted above, just TWO YEARS earlier than he has placed it in his History of England [GG].

There

[FF] With deference to the opinion of CAXTON, it is placing his authority too high, when most, if not all, our English Chronicles are made to submit to his, and a new æra is prescribed to one of our kings by it. It is needless to appeal to contemporary historians, where we are capable of producing demonstration. We have already vindicated the true reading of our old Almanacks, and exterminated a false one from CAXTON's Chronicle. But the Doctor raises a triumph on his great discovery; and poor Eachard is singled out to be lashed, for not reading this Chronicle, or not making the same use of it as the Doctor does. See above, Note [D], p. 8. B. & N.

[GG] *Just ONE year*, Dr. MIDDLETON should have said; EACHARD fixing it very right, 4 March, 1461, *according to the common computation in those days*, (i. e. 1460-1); the Doctor 1459, *according to our computation*, (i. e. 1459-60). But this Gentleman seems resolved to be at variance with that Historian as far as possible. He gives us his doubts; but so much the worst side of them, that it is but just to let the Historian speak for himself: "In this reign flourished JOHN HARDING and WILLIAM CAXTON, both writers of the English History. And that which now began to give encouragement to Learning, was the famous Art of Printing, which was first found out in Germany by JOHN GUTTEN-

BERGHE

There is no clear account left of Caxton's age: but he was certainly very old, and probably above fourscore, at the time of his death. In the year 1471 he complained, as we have seen, of the infirmities of age creeping upon him, and feebling his body; yet he lived twenty-three years after, and pursued his business, with extraordinary diligence, in the abbey of Westminster, till the year 1494 [HH], in which he died; not in the year following, as all, who write of him, affirm. This appears from some verses at the end of a book, called, "Hilton's Scale of Perfection," printed in the same year:

"Infynite laud with thankynges many folde-

I yelde to God me socouryng with his grace

This boke to fynysh which that ye beholde

Scale of Perfeccion calde in every place

Whereof th'auktor Walter Hilton was

And Wynnyn de Worde this hath sett in print

In William Caxtons hows so fyll the case,

God rest his soule. In joy ther mot it stynt.

Inpressus anno salutis MCCCCLXXXxiiii."

BERGHEM about 1440, or somewhat later, and was brought into England by WILLIAM CAXTON, a mercer of LONDON, and PROBABLY the same with the Historian, who first practised the same in the Abbey of Westminster 1461, and the 11th of this reign." The Historian writes so agreeably to the Doctor's hypothesis, that one would think he need not be so much ashamed of his company. B. & N.

[HH] No longer than the year 1491, as Mr. Ames has since proved from his epitaph, and the edition of Catal. Biblioth. Harl. vol. III. p. 127. B.

Though he had printed for the use of Edward IV, and Henry VII; yet I find no ground for the notion which Palmer takes up, that the first printers, and particularly CAXTON, were sworn servants and printers to the crown: for Caxton, as far as I have observed, gives not the least hint of any such character or title; though it seems to have been instituted not long after his death: for of his two principal workmen, Richard Pynson and Wynkin de Worde, the one was made Printer to the King; the other, to the King's mother the Lady Margaret. Pynson gives himself the first title, in "The Imitation of the Life of Christ," printed by him at the commandment of the Lady Margaret, who had translated the fourth book of it from the French, in the year 1504: and Wynkin de Worde assumes the second, in "The seven Penitential Psalms," expounded by bishop Fisher, and printed in the year 1509.

But there is the title of a book given by Palmer, that seems to contradict what is here said of Pynson: viz. "Psalterium ex mandato victoriosissimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi, per Gulielmum Fanque, Impressorem Regium, anno MDIII;" which being the only work that has ever been found of this printer, makes it probable, that he died in the very year of its impressiõ, and was succeeded immediately by Richard Pynson: whose use of the same title so soon after, shews the writers to be mistaken in this, and several other particulars relating to his history, as well as that of Wynkin de Worde, which it is not my present business to explain.

Mr.

Though he had printed for the life of Edward IV. and Henry VII. yet I find no ground for the notion
Mr. MEERMAN's ACCOUNT

particularity of the work, were two principal and printed
 to the crown: for I have observed,

gives not the least hint of any such character or title;

ORIGIN OF PRINTING.

his death: for of his two principal workmen, Ri-

chard Pymon and Wynkeborch Worde, the one was

made Printer to the King; the other, to the King's

another the Lady Margaret. Pymon gave himself

the title, in "The translation of the life of

Christ," printed by him at the commandment of the

IT may seem somewhat strange, that the original of

Printing has hitherto eluded all the researches of

the learned; and that this art, which has given light

to all others, should itself remain in obscurity. And

yet the wonder will cease, if we consider that it was

invented as a more expeditious method of multiplying

books than by writing, and was at first designed to

counterfeit it; consequently was concealed for private

interest, rather than revealed to the proprietor's ho-

nour and the public advantage. As Mr. MEERMAN

has endeavoured to reconcile some difficulties on this

head in Latin, we shall briefly lay them before the

English Reader, by which he will see the many mis-

takes of every one of our latest writers on the subject;

and that the difficulties have arisen, not so much from

the want of historical evidences, as from not attending

to the true sense of them; from overlooking it in its

imperfect

imperfect state, and as an embryo not born into daylight.

The three cities, Mr. MEERMAN observes, which have the fairest claim to this honour, are Harleim, Mentz, and Strasburgh: to each it is to be ascribed in a qualified sense; the improvements the one made upon the other entitling them all, in some sort, to the merit of the invention.

The first testimony of the inventor is that recorded by Hadrian Junius, in his *Batavia*, p. 253, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1588; which, though it has been rejected by many, is of undoubted authority. Junius had the relation from two reputable men, Nicolaus Galius [A], who was his schoolmaster, and from Quirinius Talesius, his intimate and correspondent. He ascribes it to Laurentius the son of John (*Ædituus*, or *Custos*, of the cathedral at Harleim, at that time a respectable office), upon the testimony of Cornelius, sometime a servant to Laurentius, and afterwards bookbinder

[A] Galius seems to be the same who is called *Claes Lotynsz. Gael*, Scabinus Harlemi, as it is in the *Fasti* of that city, in the years 1531, 1533, and 1535. Quirinius in the same *Fasti* is called *Mr. Quiryn Dirkszoon*. He was many years amanuensis to the great ERASMUS, as appears from his Epistle, 23 July, 1529, tom. III. Oper. p. 1222. He was afterwards Scabinus in 1537 & seq.; and consul in 1552 & seq. But in the troubles of Holland he was cruelly killed by the Spanish foldiers, 23 May, 1573. There are some Letters of HADRIAN JUNIUS to this TALESIUS, in the *Epistolæ Junianæ*, p. 198.

to the cathedral, an office which had before been performed by Franciscan fryars. His narrative was thus : " That walking in a wood near the city (as the
 " citizens of opulence use to do) he began at first to
 " cut some letters upon the rind of a beech tree ;
 " which, for fancy's sake, being impressed on paper,
 " he printed one or two lines, as a specimen for his
 " grandchildren (the sons of his daughter) to follow. This having happily succeeded, he meditated greater things (as he was a man of ingenuity
 " and judgement) ; and first of all, with his son-in-law
 " THOMAS PETER (who by the way left three sons,
 " who all attained the consular dignity), invented a
 " more glutinous writing ink, because he found the
 " common ink sunk and spread ; and then formed
 " whole pages of wood, with letters cut upon them ;
 " of which sort I have seen some essays, in an anonymous work, printed only on one side, intituled,
 " *Speculum nostræ salutis* ; in which it is remarkable,
 " that in the infancy of Printing (as nothing is complete at its first invention) the back sides of the pages
 " were pasted together, that they might not by their
 " nakedness betray their deformity. These beechen
 " letters he afterwards changed for leaden ones, and
 " these again for a mixture of tin and lead [*stannæas*],
 " as a less flexible and more solid and durable substance. Of the remains of which types, when they
 " were turned to waste metal, those old wine-pots
 " were cast, that are still preserved in the family-house, which looks into the market-place, inhabited
 " afterwards

“ afterwards by his great grandson GERARD THOMAS,
 “ a gentleman of reputation, whom I mention for the
 “ honour of the family, and who died old a few years
 “ since. A new invention never fails to engage curio-
 “ sity. And when a commodity never before seen ex-
 “ cited purchasers, to the advantage of the inventor,
 “ the admiration of the art increased, dependents were
 “ enlarged, and workmen multiplied, the first ca-
 “ lamitous incident. Among these was one JOHN,
 “ whether, as we suspect, he had ominously the name
 “ of FAUSTUS [B], unfaithful and unlucky to his
 “ master, or whether it was really a person of that
 “ name, I shall not much inquire; being unwilling to
 “ molest

[B] Etymology, which leads to the true meaning of words, is a kind of historical knowledge, which renders the study of Grammar more pleasing. To produce the various lights which it affords, would be endless; but we may be indulged in mentioning one instance, which is immediately connected both with our profession and the person here mentioned. JOHN FAUST, or FUST, is by many supposed to have derived his name from *Faustus*, happy; and Dr. *Faustus* seems to carry an air of grandeur in the appellation: but very erroneously. *John Faust*, or *Fust*, is no more than *John Hand*, whence our name *Fist*. This is of small moment in itself, if an eminent German Critic (ERASMUS SCHMIDIUS) had not refined too much upon it, and led himself into a mistake by his too great knowledge. The famous editions of Tully's Offices by JOHN FUST (for there are certainly two, one in 1465, the other in 1466) have uniformly, at the end, the following colophons. The first of them,

“molest the silent shades, who suffer from a consciousness of their past actions in this life. This man, bound

Presens Marci tulii clarissū opus. Johannes fust Mogūtinus civis. nō atramēto. plumali cāna neq. aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *Petri manu pueri mei feliciter effeci finitum.* anno M.cccc.lxv.

The second is worded with more exactness, and stands thus :

Presens tulii M. clarissū opus Johannes fust Mogūtinus civis. nō atramēto. plumali cāna neq. aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *manu Petri de Gernsheim pueri mei feliciter effeci finitum.* anno M.cccc.lxvi. *quarta die mensis februarii. 7c.*

Now Schmidius, in Nov. Test. Norimbergæ, 1658, p. 5, tells us he was possessed of a copy of this book, with the first of these colophons; and had heard of, but never seen, the other. This learned Critic, full of the meaning of the name *Fust*, says: “Moneo non rectè scribi *manu Petri*, &c. quasi *τὸ manu* esset ablativus instrumenti; quum ab autore, licet *σολοικως*, usurpetur in genitivo, *arte Petri Manu*, & sit proprium, **Peter Fust oder Faust**, non appellativum.” The Latin indeed, if so read, is not disagreeable to the rudeness of the age, when that language, though much diffused, was yet read and written with a very low degree of accuracy. But the misfortune is, Schmidius’s reading is inconsistent with history: for it does not appear that JOHN FUST had any son or servant named PETER, except PETER SCHOEFFER de *Gernsheim*, to whom, for being an useful assistant to him in his art, he gave his daughter CHRISTIAN (or DINAH) FUST in marriage;

“bound by oath to keep the secret of Printing, when
 “he thought he had learnt the art of joining the
 “letters,

marriage; and it is not clear that it was a custom in Germany for the husband to change his name for the wife's.—There can be very little doubt, therefore, of there having been *two editions*, unless the variation is accounted for by supposing that the colophon in Schmidius's copy was printed off before it was fully corrected; which might possibly be the case, because the month and day seem to have been omitted; at least, Schmidius, who is very particular here, has not copied them, though they are usually added in the colophons of that age. But, after all, if Schmidius had *seen*, in the colophon of 1466, *manu PETRI DE GERNSHEIM pueri mei*, he must have given up his interpretation of *manu*.—We leave this however as a curiosity to be sought after; and as highly to be prized, when possessed, as Duke Lauderdale's Bible, with the forgery in it of, *Paul, a KNAVE of Jesus Christ**.

Mr. Maittaire (in his *Annales Typographicae*, 1719, vol. I. p. 60.) tells us, “he has COMPARED the editions of 1465 and 1466; and finds them, except the variation of the colophon, EXACTLY the same.”—Mr. Palmer, in 1732, either not knowing this circumstance, or not attending to it, says (*Hist. of Printing*, p. 81), “It is very probable “these editions may be *the same*, the last sheet only re-
 “printed; *which may be easily known by comparing them to-
 “gether*; and it were to be wished, that some of the cu-
 “rioso's of Oxford would take that trouble, since they are
 “both there, as appears from Ant. Wood's list.”—The reverend Dr. Taylor, chancellor of Lincoln, afterwards

* See an account of this book in the Notes of Fortescue Aland, Esq; on Lord Chief Justice Fortescue on Absolute and Limited Monarchy, p. 42.

“ letters, the method of casting the types, and other
 “ things of that nature, taking the most convenient
 “ time

examined both editions, and favoured us with the following remark : “ I HAVE COMPARED THEM too, and
 “ EXACTLY; and find them VERY DIFFERENT: every
 “ page indeed beginning and ending alike, but not every
 “ line: the shape also of several letters being very different,
 “ particularly *m*, as thus, *W. M. J. T.*”

The *s*, *f*, and *d*, are likewise differently formed in these copies. See Catal. Bibl. Harleian. vol. IV. A. D. 1744, p. 520.

These editions are taken notice of in the *Bibliographie Instructive des Belles Lettres*, par Guillaume François de Bure, le Jeune, p. 151. The first of them has so many variations as to induce that writer to think there were *three* or *four* editions in 1465.

	One edition has,		The other,
In the Title of the volume,	<i>Arpinatis</i>	—	<i>Arpmatis</i>
	{ <i>Prefatio</i>	—	<i>Prefatio</i>
In the Preface,	{ <i>incipit</i>	—	<i>mcipit</i>
	{ <i>nichil</i>	—	<i>nihil</i>
In the Latin verses at the end of Book III.	{ <i>cupiens</i>	—	<i>cupiēs</i>
At the end of the Paradoxes, <i>sunt</i>	—	{	<i>fūt</i> , and a line added in red.
In the Versus XII Sapientum, <i>sapientus</i>	—		<i>sapientū</i>
Les <i>Ecussons</i> de Schoyffer,	—		(wanting.)

In the first edition of 1465, before the ode of Horace, *Diffugere nives*, &c. printed at the end, is this inscription, in two lines :

Manlio Torquato Flaccus, de vite humane brevitare. per comparationem tēpis, hec ;

The titles of *Three Precepts of Friendship* are transposed in the first edition, and right in the second; and many other variations, too minute to mention.

Mr.

“time that was possible, on Christmas eve, when all
 “were customarily employed in lustral sacrifices,
 “seizes the collection of types, and all the imple-
 “ments his master had got together, and, with one
 “accomplice, marches off to Amsterdam, thence to
 “Cologne, and at last settled at Mentz, as at an
 “asylum of security, where he might go to work
 “with the tools he had stolen. It is certain that
 “in a year’s time, viz. in 1442, the *Doctrinale* of
 “Alexander Gallus, which was a Grammar much
 “used at that time, together with the *Traicts* of Peter
 “of Spain, came forth there, from the same types as
 “Laurentius had made use of at Harleim.”

Thus far the narrative of Junius, which he had frequently heard from Nicolaus Galius; to whom it was related by Cornelius himself, who lived to a great age, and used to burst into tears upon reflecting on the loss his master had sustained, not only in his substance, but in his honour, by the roguery of this servant, his former associate and bedfellow, Cornelius, as appears by the registers of Harleim cathedral, died either in 1515 or the beginning of the

Mr. De Bure adds, that in (*Clement's* or) the *third* edition the *Four Lines of Title* are wanting; which may have been omitted in *that copy* by mistake, as those lines are *in red* in the other copies; and therefore this is most probably not a different edition.

He supposes also a *fourth* edition in *vellum*; but that is no criterion. A copy in vellum of the edition in 1466 is in the British Museum. B. & N.

following

following year; so that he might very well give this information to Nicolaus Galius, who was school-master to Hadrian Junius.

Though this circumstance is probable as to the main fact, yet we must set aside the evidence of it in some particulars. The first obvious difficulty is noticed by Scriverius; "that the types are said to be made of the *rind* of beach, which could not be strong enough to bear the impression of the press." This is removed, if, instead of the *bark*, we substitute a *bough* of the beach. The idea of the *bark*, when Junius wrote this, was perhaps strong in his mind, from what Virgil tells us (Ecl. v. 13.) of its being usual to cut words on the *bark* of a beach; and thence he was easily led to make a wrong application of it here.

2. The letters were at first *wooden*, and are said to be afterwards exchanged for *metal* types; from which the wine-pots were formed, remaining in the time of Junius. According to tradition, Printing was carried on in the same house long after the time of Laurentius: those pots might therefore be formed from the waste metal of the printing-house, after the use of *fusile types* became universal. But Laurentius seems to have carried the art no farther than *separate wooden types*. What is a remarkable confirmation of this, HENRY SPIEGHEL, who wrote in the sixteenth century, in a poem intituled *Hertspiegel*, says thus [in Dutch]: "Thou first, Laurentius, to supply the defect
" of wooden tablets, adaptedst *wooden types*, and
" afterwards

“ afterwards didst connect them with a thread, to imitate writing. A treacherous servant procured to himself the honour of the discovery. But Truth itself, though destitute of common and wide-spread fame ; Truth, I say, still remains.” No mention in the Poem of *metal types* ; which had he been robbed of, as well as the wooden ones, would scarcely have been passed over in silence.

When LAURENTIUS first devised his rough specimen of the art, can only be guessed at. He died in 1440, after having published the *Speculum Belgicum*, and two editions of *Donatus*, all of different *wooden types* ; which it is probable (considering the difficulties he had to encounter, and the many artists whom he must necessarily have had occasion to consult) cost him some years to execute ; so that the first essay might be about 1430, which nearly agrees with PETRUS SCRIVERIUS, who says, the invention was about ten or twelve years before 1440 [C].

3. What

[C] Scriverius's account is somewhat different from that of Junius. He tells us, that “ Laurentius, walking in the wood, picked up a small bough of a beech, or rather of an oak tree, blown off by the wind ; and, after amusing himself with cutting some letters on it, wrapped it up in paper, and afterwards lay down to sleep. When he awaked, he perceived that the paper, by a shower of rain or some accident, having got moist, had received an impression from these letters ; which induced him to pursue the accidental discovery.” Scriverius however proceeds, according to Mr. Meerman, on a wrong hypothesis ; as he

3. What was the specimen which he first diverted himself with in cutting, after three centuries, one would think impossible to be discovered. And yet JOH. ENSCHEDIUS, a printer, thinks he was so happy as to find it, being an old parchment *Horarium*, printed on both sides, in eight pages, containing the Letters of the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and three short prayers. And Mr. MEERMAN having shewn this to proper artists, who were judges of these matters, they gave it as their opinion that it agreed exactly with the description of Junius. It is conformable to the first edition of the Dutch *Speculum Salvationis*, and the fragments of both *Donatus's* of Holland, which are both the works of the same Laurentius, and were preceded by this. In these types, which are certainly moveable, cut, and uneven, there is a rudeness which Mr. MEERMAN has not observed in any other instance. There are no numbers to the pages, no signatures, no *direction words* [D],

no

takes it for granted that the first essays were on *wooden blocks*, and not on *separate* wooden types.—Junius's account is from the servants of Laurentius; Scriverius's is grounded on imagination, and on an error of Scaliger. The former is clear; the latter, when the circumstance of *going to sleep* is considered, seems to border on the marvellous. N,

[D] It is a ridiculous conceit of some, that these were called *custodes* from Laurentius's name *Coster*; whereas they undoubtedly received their name from their office, as being *keepers* to the pages, that they may follow in order; and were *never used* by Laurentius or his family. See MEER-

no divisions at the end of the lines; on the contrary, a syllable divided in the middle is seen, thus, *Spiritū* in p. 8. l. 2, 3. There are no distinctions nor points, which are seen in the other works of Laurentius; and the letter *i* is not marked with an accent, but with a dot at the top. The lines throughout are uneven. The shape of the pages not always the same, not (as they should be) rectangular, but sometimes rhomb-like, sometimes an *isoscele trapezium*; and the performance seems to be left as a specimen of his piety and ingenuity in the essay of this new-invented art. Mr. MEERMAN has given an exact engraving of this singular curiosity.

There are FOUR other credible testimonies, who lived before Junius, that confirm the relation [E] of

MAN, vol. I. p. 77. For the introduction of *folios* and *signatures*, see note [Q], p. 27, 28. To which we may add, that Mr. MEERMAN thinks the first instance of either *folios* or *running-titles* was in the "Sermones LEON. de UTINO, Parisii, 1477;" though the use of *folios* is so obvious, that they are most probably to be found in old Mss. N.

[E] Coeval almost with CORNELIUS was ULRIC ZELL, a native of Hanover, the first who practised Printing at Cologn, who attained the rudiments of the art by officiating as Corrector of the Press under Fust or Gutenberg, as appears by the *Chronicon* of Cologn, a work written under his own inspection. ZELL being a German, and professedly an advocate for the cause of Mentz, his testimony in favour of Harleim (where he allows the foundation of the art was laid) will be acknowledged unexceptionable. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 60. B. & N.

Cornelius, and yet seem to derive their authority from a different channel; and who all mention the theft of Laurentius's servant, and his setting up at Mentz (see MEERMAN'S *Documenta*, LXXXI—LXXXIV); viz.

1. "Zurenus, in JOANNIS VAN ZUYREN reliquiæ,
" ex opusculo deperdito, cui tit. Zurenus junior, sive
" de prima, et inaudita hactenus vulgo, et veriore
" tamen artis typographicæ inventione dialogus, nunc
" primum conscriptus, autore Joan. Zureno, Harlemeo,
" ad amplissimum virum N. N. asservatæ—a Petr.
" Scriverio in Laurea Laurentiana, c. II."

2. "THEODORUS VOLCKARDI COORNHERTIUS in
" dedicatione præmissa versioni Belgicæ Officiorum
" Ciceronis, edit. Harlem. 1561, atque inscripta Con-
" sulibus, Scabinis, et Senatoribus ejusdem urbis."

3. "HENRICUS PANTALEON, Lib. de viris illustri-
" bus Germaniæ, part. II. p. 397, seq. ed. Basil. 1565."

4. "LUDOVICUS GUICCIARDINUS, Descrizione di
" tutti i Paesi Bassi, edita Antwerpia, typis Gul. Sylvii,
" 1567, p. 180, in descriptione urbis Harlemi."

But PANTALEON, it should be observed, is mistaken when he ascribes to JOHN FUST the invention of Printing, and more so when he says that he took in John Schœffer, instead of Peter, partner: for John, the son of Peter, and grandson of Faustus by his daughter, was certainly not born in 1440, since he was famous in 1548. See MARCHAND, *Hist. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 50. Besides, this writer asserts that Nic. Jenson followed the art in France; who, though he was
born

born in that kingdom, yet practised Printing no where but at Venice. He mentions likewise two remarkable circumstances; one, of the manner of hiding the types, when they had stolen them, "*eos literas in sacculis clausis secum in officinas tulisse, atque abeuntes abstulisse;*" the other, of the honour paid to the first artists [F]. The greatest part of what he has written is borrowed from WIMPHELIUS, Epit. Rer. German.

But, whatever else may appear doubtful in the narrative of Junius, it is very clear that the first essays of the art are to be attributed to LAURENTIUS [G], who used only *separate wooden types*. He died

[F] Mr. MEERMAN observes, that the following of other manual professions was accounted a derogation to nobility; but that this Art conferred honour on its professors. Hence it was very early practised by many who were of noble families, and even by eminent Ecclesiastics. JOHN GUTENBERG was, in 1465, received *inter Aulicos* by the Elector ADOLPHUS: and the Emperor FREDERICK III. permitted Printers to wear gold and silver; and both *Typographi* and *Typothetæ* were honoured by him with the privilege of wearing coat-armour; "*Typothetis scil. aquilæ, typographis autem gryphi, pede altero pilam tinctoriam unguibus tenentis, scutum donavit, cum aperta galea, et superimposita ei corona.*" MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 47, 48, 207. And see hereafter, p. 99.

[G] It may not be improper here to give an abridgement of Mr. MEERMAN's account of LAURENTIUS and his family:—He was born at Harleim about 1370, and executed

died in 1440; and Mr. MEERMAN is of opinion (on the authority of GUICCIARDINI) that the types were stolen very soon after his death.

Most several departments of magistracy in that city.—Those writers are mistaken, who assign to him the surname of COSTER, or assert that the office of *Ædituus* was hereditary in his family. In a diploma of ALBERT of Bavaria in 1380, in which, among other citizens of Harleim, our Laurentius's *father* is mentioned by the name of "JOANNES "LAURENTII filius," BEROLDUS is called *Ædituus*, who was surely of another family; and in 1396 and 1398 HENRICUS a LUNEN enjoyed that office; after whose resignation, Count ALBERT conferring on the citizens the privilege of *electing* their *Ædituus*, they, probably soon after, fixed on LAURENTIUS; who was afterwards called COSTER, from his office, and not from his family name, as he was descended from an illegitimate branch of the *Gens BRE-DERODIA*. His office was very lucrative; and that he was a man of great property, the elegance of his house may testify. That he was the *inventor* of Printing, is plain from the narrative of Junius. His first work was the *Horarium* abovementioned, p. 66; the next the *Speculum Salutis*, in which he introduced *pictures* on *wooden blocks*; then *Donatus*, the larger size; and afterwards the same work in a less size. All these were printed on *separate moveable wooden types*, fastened together by threads. If it be thought improbable that so ingenious a man should have proceeded no farther than the invention of *wooden types*; it may be answered, that he printed for profit, not for fame; and *wooden types* were not only *at that time* made sooner and cheaper than *metal* could be, but were sufficiently durable for the small impressions of each book he must necessarily have

Most writers agree that there was a robbery by some one; though they differ in the particulars, and

have printed.—His press was nearly shaped like the common wine-presses.—He printed some copies of *all* his books both on paper and vellum.—It has been very erroneously supposed that he quitted the profession, and died broken-hearted: but it is certain that he did not live to see the art brought to perfection.—He died in 1440, aged 70; and was succeeded either by his son-in-law THOMAS PETER, who married his only daughter LUCIA; or by their immediate descendants, PETER, ANDREW, and THOMAS; who were old enough (even if their father was dead, as it is likely he was) to conduct the business, the eldest being at least 22 or 23. The loss they had sustained by the robbery would be repaired without much difficulty or expence; and they still had the assistance of CORNELIUS, and other servants of their grandfather.—What books they printed, it is not easy to determine; they having, after the example of LAURENTIUS, (more anxious for profit than for fame) neither added to their books their names, the place where they were printed, or the date of the year.—Their first essays were new editions of *Donatus* and the *Speculum*. They afterwards re-printed the latter, with a Latin translation; in which they used their grandfather's wooden pictures; and printed the book partly on *wooden blocks*, partly on *wooden separate types*, as Mr. MEERMAN clearly proves, vol. I. p. 135; who has given an exact engraving of *each sort*, taken from different parts of the same book, which was published between the years 1442 and 1450. Nor did they stop here; but continued to print several editions of the *Speculum* both in Latin and in Dutch. Four editions of this book are yet
to

and even in the name of the person who is said to have committed it. Those who deny the whole story ground their opinion, 1. on the improbability of such a fact being done on so public a night, when the whole city must necessarily have been awake; 2. on the great difficulty there must have been in conveying a large quantity of materials through the gates of to be seen. There are many other books in being, certainly printed in Holland, which may with probability be assigned to this family. Of the following ones in particular, there can be no doubt: "Historiæ ALEXANDRI Magni;" "FLAVII VEDATHI [for VEGETII] RENATI Epitome de re Militari;" "Opera varia à THOMAS KEMPIS." Of each of these Mr. MEERMAN has given an engraved specimen. They were all printed with *separate wooden types*; and, by their great neatness, are a proof that the descendants of LAURENTIUS were industrious in improving his invention. And hence an additional argument may be brought in favour of CORSELLIS, whose impressions were likewise on *separate wooden types*, are remarkable for their neatness, and much resembling those of Harleim, whence he came to Oxford about 1459. See above, p. 7, 8.—KEMPIS was printed at Harleim in 1472, and was the last known work of LAURENTIUS's descendants, who soon after disposed of all their materials, and probably quitted the employment; as the use of *fusile types* was about that time universally diffused through Holland by the settling of MARTENS at Aloft, where he pursued the art with reputation for upwards of sixty years. PETER and ANDREW, the two eldest grandsons of LAURENTIUS, perished in the civil war of 1492. See MEERMAN's *Index primus*. B. & N.

Harleim,

Harlem, which no one was permitted to pass at night unexamined, or through the several other towns in the way to Mentz; and, 3. on his having been permitted to exercise the art after his arrival in that city, without being molested by any judicial complaint from those whom he had robbed.

To this it may be answered, that JUNIUS wrote in a very figurative manner; and, to express his abhorrence of the crime in the strongest light, accused the robber of having stolen "the collection of types, and "ALL the instruments his master had got together." But surely much less would effectually have answered the purpose of this unfaithful servant. Skilled as he must have been in every department of the business, it could be no difficulty to him to get proper workmen, in any country, who could (by his instructions) supply him with a press, and every thing else that was bulky. All that he really wanted was, *a small quantity of wooden types*, as a pattern to cut others from. These he might pack up in a small parcel, either late at night, or early in the morning; which it would be an easy matter to conceal till the city gates were opened. And indeed no time could be more suitable to such a purpose than that which is assigned to it; since, no business being performed either on that or the following day, he would be far out of their reach when the loss should be discovered; and it is highly probable that (CORNELIUS and the other servants of the family being employed in their religious duties) he had an oppor-

tunity of being some hours alone in the house, and of plundering unmolested whatever he had occasion for. Perhaps he even obtained permission from the family of his deceased master to take a journey to Amsterdam or Mentz, for which some plausible pretence might readily be formed. However this was, it would be easy to prevent the discovery of his fraud till he should be safe out of the territories of Holland. It was his business therefore to take the shortest route (through Amsterdam and Cologn) to Mentz, his native city. Here he fixed his residence, and had little to apprehend from the tribunal of Harleim, whose sentence (if any suit was even entered against him) could extend no farther than to banish him from a country which he never more intended to re-visit.

Having shewn that a theft was actually committed, it will be necessary to inquire who was the guilty person. It is clear from all accounts that his name was JOHN [H]. ZURENUS expressly calls him a *foreigner*; and there is little doubt of his being a native of Mentz: why else should he have chosen to settle in that city, at a distance from his family

[H] It is somewhat singular, that many of the earliest Printers were thus named; as, GEINSFLEICH senior and junior, FUST, MEIDENBACHIUS, and PETERSHEMIUS; a circumstance which induced the Leipfic Printers to consecrate St. JOHN the Baptist's anniversary to festivity, as is observed by Jo. STORIUS, in a Dissertation preserved by WOLFIUS, Monum. Typogr. tom. II. p. 475, *in not.* N.

and friends, whose assistance he would need in so new and arduous an undertaking? What his surname was, is an interesting inquiry. JUNIUS, after some hesitation, ascribes it to JOHN FUST; but with injustice: for he was a wealthy man, who assisted the first printers with money at Mentz; and though he afterwards was proprietor of a printing-office, yet he never, as far as appears, did any part of the business with his own hands; and consequently he could never have been a servant to LAURENTIUS. Nor is the conjecture of SCRIVERIUS better founded, who fixes it upon JOHN GUTENBERG, who (as appears by authentic testimonies) resided at Strasburg from 1436 to 1444, and during all that period employed much fruitless labour and expence in endeavouring to attain this art. Mr. MEERMAN once thought, "it might possibly be either JOHN MEIDENBACHIUS (who, we are told by SEB. MUNSTER and the author of *Chronographia Moguntinensis*, was an assistant to the first Mentz printers); or JOHN PETERSHEIMIUS (who was sometime a servant to FUST and SCHOEFFER, and set up a printing-house at Francfort 1459); or, lastly, some other person, who, being unable through poverty to carry on the business, discovered it to GEINSFLEICH at Mentz." But more authentic intelligence afterwards convinced him there were two persons of this name, who appear to have been brothers, and that the junior was distinguished by the additional appellation of GUTENBERG. These were both printers;

and their history shall be given in as short a compass as possible [I].

All things being fully considered, it appears that JOHN GEINSFLEICH senior was the dishonest servant, who was born at Mentz, and who, in the papers published by KOHLERUS, we find there in the year 1441, and not before: for though he was of a good family, yet was he poor, and seems to have been obliged, as well as his brother, to have sought his livelihood in a foreign country; and perhaps was

[I] There were two JOHN GEINSFLEICHES of Mentz, the senior called GEINSFLEICH κατ' ἑξοχὴν; the other distinguished by the name of GUTENBERG. They were both poor; though of a family distinguished by knighthood. They were both married men, and were most probably brothers, as it was not uncommon in that age for two brothers to have the same Christian name. These both appear in a disreputable light. The eldest robbed his master, with many aggravating circumstances. The youngest was remarkably contentious; and, after entering into a contract of marriage with ANNA, a noble girl of *The Iron Gate*, refused to marry her till compelled by a judicial decree; and afterwards cared not what became of the lady, but left her behind at Strasburgh when he removed to Mentz. He had not only frequent quarrels with his wife; but with ANDREW DRIZEHEN, ANDREW HEILMANN, and JOHN RIFF, all of whom were associated with him at Strasburg, in his different employments, of making of looking-glasses, polishing of precious stones, and endeavouring to attain the art of Printing: and with these he involved himself in three law-suits. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 163, &c. N.

content to be under LAURENTIUS, that when he had learnt the art, he might follow it in his own. But, to leave conjecture, we may produce some certain testimonies.

1. It is what JUNIUS himself says, that the person who stole the types did it with a view to set up elsewhere; nor is it likely that he would either make no use of an art he had seen so profitable to LAURENTIUS, or that he would teach it to another, and submit to be again a servant.

2. The Lambeth Record, which is printed above, p. 3, from Mr. ATKYNS, tells us, that "Mentz gained the art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harleim, who learnt it at home of his brother, who after set up for himself at Mentz."—By the strictest examination of the best authorities, it is plain that by these *two brothers* the two GEINSFLEICHES must be meant. But as the younger (who was called GUTENBERG) was never a servant to LAURENTIUS, it must be the senior who carried off the types, and instructed his brother in the art; who first applied himself to the business at Strasburg, and afterwards joined his elder brother, who had in the mean time settled at Mentz.

What is still stronger, two Chronologers of Strasburgh, the one named DAN. SPEKLINUS, the other anonymous (in MEERMAN'S *Documenta*, N^o LXXXV, LXXXVI) tell us expressly, that JOHN GEINSFLEICH (viz, the senior, whom they distinguish from GUTENBERG), having learnt the art by being servant to its

first

first inventor, carried it by theft into Mentz, his native country. They are right in the fact, though mistaken in the application of it; for they make *Strasburg* the place of the invention, and MENTELIUS the inventor, from whom the types were stolen: but this is plainly an error; for GEINSFLEICH lived at Mentz in 1441, as appears from undoubted testimonies; and could not be a servant to MENTELIUS, to whom the forementioned writers ascribe the invention in 1440, though more antient ones do not attempt to prove that he began to print before 1444 or 1447. Nor will the narrative agree better with GUTENBERG, who was an earlier printer than MENTELIUS, since, among the evidences produced by him in his law suit, 1439, no GEINSFLEICH senior appears, nor any other servant but LAURENTIUS BEILDEK. The narration therefore of the theft of GEINSFLEICH, being spread by various reports through the world, and subsisting in the time of these Chronologers, was applied by them (to serve the cause they wrote for) to Strasburg; but serves to confirm the truth, since no writer derives the printing spoils from any other country than Holland or Alsatia. The Chronologers have likewise, instead of FUST, called GUTENBERG the wealthy man; who, from all circumstances, appears to have been poor; they also call SCHOEFFER the son-in-law of MENTELIUS, when it is clear that he married the daughter of FUST.

Printing being introduced from Harleim into Mentz, GEINSFLEICH senior set with all diligence to carry
it

it on; and published in 1442 ALEXANDRI GALLI *Doctrinale* [K], and PETRI HISPANI *Tractatus*; two works, which, being small, best suited his circumstances, and for which, being much used in the schools, he might reasonably expect a profitable sale. This has been disputed by many writers, because none of these editions have been found. But they undoubtedly were published, though without the name of place or printer; as the preceding books at Harleim were printed, and the following ones at Mentz till the year 1457; and therefore, if any at present remain in the collections of the curious, they are only discoverable to such as are well acquainted with the types of LAURENTIUS. Nay, it is possible that the copies may be all torn and destroyed, having been used only by schoolboys, as hath happened to

[K] ERASMUS testifies that these tracts were received in schools, when he was a young man, *Ep. ad HENR. BOVILLUM*, 31 Aug. 1513, *Opp. tom. III. p. 103.* Of this Grammar of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, written in verse, see among others JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. med. et infim. Latinit. lib. I.* and JO. LEICHIUS in *Supplem. MAITTAIRII*, at the end of *Orig. Typogr. Lips. p. 119. seq.* Of PETER OF SPAIN, who flourished in the close of the XIIIth century, see NICH. ANTONIUS's *Biblioth. Hispan. vet. lib. VIII. c. 5. p. 52*; and of his *Parva Logicalia*, or *Thesaurus Sophismatum*, which JUNIUS here points out, Sir THOMAS MORE's *Apology for the Folly of ERASMUS* deserves to be read, *tom. III. Opp. ERASMI, p. 1897, & seq.* See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 94. B.

both

both the Harleim editions of DONATUS; or the remainder of them were suppressed by the Mentz printers, whose improvement in the art had rendered these books useless; or, if any of them are still remaining, they are hidden in obscurity, as many others of the first essays of printing; some of which Mr. MEERMAN discovered, which none have before mentioned [L]; and more, it is hoped, will be brought to light

[L] In proof of this assertion, Mr. MEERMAN particularly mentions *two editions* of this *Grammar* of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, unknown to Mr. MAITTAIRE and others. One, and that in his own library, without time, place, or printer, beginning with the work itself, *Scribere clericulis parva doctrinale novellis*, was published in quarto in the Roman character, and that *cut*, as appears from the inequality of the type, and contains twenty-eight lines in a page; which may be reckoned, by all the marks, among the first editions printed in Italy, about 1470, or before.

The other, which the celebrated Mr. JACOB BRYANT shewed Mr. MEERMAN, is in folio, in the Roman character, and *cut* too, with some elegance, thirty lines long, and has the following remarkable inscription at the end:

“Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinale (Deo laudes) feliciter explicit. Impressum sat incommode. Cum aliquarum rerum, quæ ad hanc artem pertinent, impressori copia fieri non potuerit in hujus artis inicio: peste Genuæ, Ast, alibique militante. Emendavit autem hoc ipsum opus Venturinus Prior, Grammaticus eximius, ita diligenter, ut cum antea Doctrinale parum emendatum in plerisque locis librariorum vitio esse videretur, nunc illius
“cura

will be brought to light, by a comparison with the valuable specimens of early printing, which Mr. MEERMAN's plates exhibit. Nor can any thing material be opposed to JUNIUS's relation, except the silence of JOHN SCHOEFFER of those works, in his narration preserved by TRITHEMIUS. The reason is, he passes over the whole history of *moveable wooden types*, as not worth his notice; and relates only the particulars of *metal types*, first those which had their

"cura et diligentia adhibita in manus hominum, quam
 "emendatissimum veniat. Imprimuntur autem posthac libri
 "alterius generis literis, et eleganter arbitror. Nam et
 "fabri et aliarum rerum, quarum hæcenus promptor in-
 "digus fuit, illi nunc Dei munere copia est, qui cuncta
 "disponit pro suæ voluntatis arbitrio. AMEN."

As VENTURINUS dwelt at Florence, and in 1482 published there *the Rudiments of the Latin Grammar*, it is probable this *Doctrinale* was printed in the same place likewise, and by the same artists, who afterwards printed the works of VIRGIL with SERVIUS's *Commentary* in 1472, viz. BERNARD and DOMINICK CENNINI. For if the inscription subjoined to VIRGIL, and to be seen in MAITTAIRE, tom. I. p. 320, be compared with what is above exhibited, it will be manifest that, to print the Prince of Poets, they had got a workman who could cast the letters (for *cast* they were), as they had hopes of getting, they tell us, in the inscription to the *Doctrinale*. Thus this Grammar, by the CENNINI, is the first book printed at Florence; which Dom. MANNI seems not to have known, in his Dissertation on the first impressions at Florence, lately published in the Italian language. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 94, 95. B. & N.

faces cut on cast bodies (which Mr. MEERMAN at first erroneously thought to have been not *cast* at all, but *cut* out of metal, an opinion he corrects in the conclusion of his work), and afterwards *complete fusile types*, both first used at Mentz.

This twofold invention of Printing is what no one has observed before Mr. MEERMAN; and yet clears up all the disputes between Harleim and Mentz: the first with *separate wooden types* at Harleim, by LAURENTIUS, about 1430, and after continued by his family; the other with *metal types*, first *cut*, and afterwards *cast*; which were invented at Mentz, but not used in Holland till brought thither by THEODORIC MARTENS at Aloft [M],

The

[M] This THEODORIC MARTENS, or the son of MARTIN, who is frequently mentioned in ERASMUS's Epistles, had the following epitaph, in German, put up in the church of the monastery of the Wilhelmites at Aloft: "Here lies THEODORIC MARTENS, who brought the art of characterising, from Upper Germany and France, to Lower Germany. He died May 28, 1534." By *the art of characterising* is to be understood printing with metal types is undoubted, as we have shewn above, p. 43, note [Z]. So that PROSPER MARCHAND is miserably mistaken, when, in his *Lexicon Criticum*, tom. II. p. 29, art. MARTENS, he produces this epitaph as a proof against LAURENTIUS's being the first printer.—The first books yet known of MARTENS's printing were at Aloft 1473. See MARCHAND, *Hist. de l'Impr.* p. 63. But he seems to have had several partners, who came with him into Holland,

The circumstance of there being two brothers of the name of JOHN GEINSFLEICH will lead us to the meaning of the Poet, in these verses, subjoined to the first editions of JUSTINIAN's *Institutes*, printed by PETER SCHOEFFER in 1468 :

“ Hos dedit eximios sculpendi in arte magistros,
 Cui placet en mactos arte sagire viros,
 Quos genuit ambos urbs Moguntina JOHANNES,
 Librorum insignes protocharagmaticos,
 Cum quibus optatum PETRUS venit ad *Polyandrum*,
 Curfor posterior, introëundo prior;
 Quippe quibus præstat sculpendi lege, sagitus
 A solo dante lumen et ingenium.”

By “ambos JOHANNES,” all have hitherto thought to be meant FAUSTUS and GUTENBERG, not sufficiently attending to the first two lines, which some have left out as needless. That FAUSTUS, a man of wealth, practised Printing with his own hands, or cast the types, no one ever dreamt; nor do even those moderns say he did, who think he is here meant. It will be difficult, therefore, to persuade us, that SCHOEFFER, in whose praise, and with whose con-

land, as it is certain Jo. of WESTPHALIA did. See MAITTAIRE, *Annal. Typogr.* tom. I. p. 334, ed. 2. And since MATTHÆUS VAN DER GOES appears a printer at Antwerp 1472, who in that year printed *het boeck van Tondalus visioen* in quarto, THEODORIC consequently returned about that period, from Germany and France, into his own country. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 98. B. & N.

sent, these verses were made, would suffer FAUSTUS, his father-in-law, to be complimented for his skill in an art to which he had no pretence. The truth is, the two JOHNS are no other than GEINSFLEICH senior and GUTENBERG, who were the first inventors of *metal types*. And yet Mr. MEERMAN thinks FUST is not wholly unmentioned, but suspects he is hinted at by the word *Polyandrum*, to whom both the GEINSFLEICHES and PETER SCHOEFFER applied as to the common patron of all printers, whom he assisted with his bounty and counsel. He had certainly the surname given him of *Gutman* or GOODMAN, as JO. CARION informs us in his *Chronicle*, which name seems to be alluded to by a new signification of the word *Polyander*, the *Aller-man*, or one who had *many men* under his direction. *Polyandrum* has been also explained by many writers to mean the *penetralia artis*, and supposed to allude to CHRIST's sepulchre, which PETER first entered, though he came to it after JOHN. — SCHELHORNIIUS, however, *Amœnit. Liter.* tom. IV. p. 301, suspected some *unknown person* was here intended [N].

Which of the two brothers invented the *metal types*, history does not inform us. GEINSFLEICH senior had printed in 1442 the *Grammar* of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, and the *Logicalia* of PETER OF SPAIN on *wooden types*; but, finding them not suffi-

[N] See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 176, 177.

O F P R I N T I N G.

ciently durable, soon saw the expediency of using *metal*. In 1443 he hired the house *Zum-jungen*, and was assisted with money by FUST, who in return had a share of the business; and about the same time JOHN MEIDENBACHIUS was admitted a partner, as were some others, whose names are not transmitted to our times; and in 1444 they were joined by GUTENBERG, who for that purpose quitted Strasburg. It seems likely therefore that GEINSFLEICH senior first thought of using *metal types*; but, his eyes failing him, he instructed GUTENBERG in his art, which reached no farther than casting the *shanks* of the letters, or little square blocks of *metal*, which (POLYDORE VERGIL tells us) was first thought of in the 1442, the very year in which GEINSFLEICH published his first essays on *wooden types*; which had not answered his expectations. But, since the brothers are both called *protocharagmatici*, it is safest, with WIMPHELINGIUS, to look upon both as the inventors of this improvement.

Whilst the *metal types* were preparing, which must have been a work of time, several works were printed, both on *wooden separate types* and *wooden blocks*; which were well adapted to small books of frequent use, such as the *Tabula Alphabetica*, the *Catholicon*, *DONATI Grammatica*, and the *Confessionalia*. These were certainly printed by this partnership, and also some *wooden pictures*.

From the abovementioned printers, in conjunction; after many smaller essays, the *Bible* was published in

THE ORIGIN

1450, with *large cut metal types* [O]. And it is no wonder, considering the immense labour this work cost, that it should be seven or eight years in completing. In this same year the partnership was dissolved; and a new one entered into, in August, between FUST and GUTENBERG; the former supplying money, the latter skill, for their common benefit. Various difficulties arising occasioned a law-suit for the money which FUST had advanced, which was carried against GUTENBERG. A dissolution of this partnership ensued in 1455; and in 1457 a magnificent edition of the *Psalter* was published by FUST and SCHOEFFER, with a remarkable commendation, in which they assumed to themselves the merit of a new invention (*viz. of metal types*), "*adinventionem artificiosam imprimendi ac characterizandi.*" This book was uncommonly elegant, and in some measure the work of GUTENBERG; as it was four years in the press, and came out but eighteen months after the partnership was dissolved between him and FUST.

[O] Many writers have supposed that this was the edition of which some copies were sold in France, by FUST, as manuscripts, for the great price of five or six hundred crowns, which he afterwards lowered to sixty, and at last to less than forty. But it was the second and more expensive edition of 1462, that was thus disposed of, when FUST went to Paris in 1466, and which had cost 4000 florins before the third quaternion (or quire of four sheets) was printed. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 6. 151, 152. N.

The

The latter continued in possession of the printing-office: and GUTENBERG, by the pecuniary assistance of CONRAD HUMERY, syndic of Mentz [P], and others, opened another office in the same city; whence appeared, in 1460, without the printer's name, the *Catholicon* Jo. DE JANUA, with a pompous colophon, in praise of its beauty, and ascribing the honour of the invention to the city of Mentz [Q].

It

[P] At the death of GUTENBERG, CONRAD HUMERY took possession of all his printing materials: and engaged to the Archbishop ADOLPHUS, that he never would sell them to any one but a citizen of Mentz. They were, however, soon disposed of to NICHOLAS BECHTERMUNTZE, of Altavilla, who, in 1469, published *Vocabularium Latino-Teutonicum*, which was printed with the same types which had been used in the *Catholicon*. This very curious and scarce *Vocabulary* was shewn to Mr. MEERMAN, by Mr. BRYANT, in the valuable library at Blenheim, belonging to his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH. It is in quarto, thirty-five lines long, contains many extracts from the *Catholicon*, and is called *Ex quo* from the Preface beginning with those words. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 96. N.

[Q] This edition, having been published without a name, has been almost universally ascribed to FUST and SCHOEFFER. But Mr. MEERMAN thinks it was not the work of those printers; 1. because the whole form of their colophons varies from this, and theirs were always printed with red ink, and this with black; 2. because it has not *their names* to it, which they never omitted after 1457; and, 3, because the shape of the letter is very different from any

N

that

It was a very handsome book, though inferior to the *Psalter* which had been published in 1457 by FUST and SCHOEFFER. Both the *Psalter* and *Catholicon* were printed on *cut metal types* [R]. It may not be improper to observe here, that as the *Psalter* is the earliest

that they used. As there was no other printing-office at Mentz in 1460 but theirs and GUTENBERG's, Mr. MEERMAN confidently ascribes it to the latter; and accounts very probably for the omission of the printer's name; 1. by the motive of his publication being *profit*, rather than *fame*; and, 2. (which was a stronger reason) lest his claim to the invention should be contradicted by SCHOEFFER, who was then living in the same city. The last motive seems to have had its use; for SCHOEFFER never took any public notice of it, till he published the *Institutiones JUSTINIANI*, in 1468, where he informs his readers, that the two GEINSFLEICHES, though very skilful men, had not arrived to so great perfection in the art as himself. See above, p. 83. This was the first edition of the *Catholicon* JO. DE JANUA; the *Catholicon* which was printed by GEINSFLEICH with *wooden types* (see above, p. 85) being only a *small Vocabulary* for the use of schools. The Strasburgh edition, by MENTELIUS, which was published without a name, was not printed till long after, probably not before 1469. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 96—99. N.

[R] GUTENBERG never used any other than either *wooden* or *cut metal types* till the year 1462. In 1465 he was made a counsellor of state by the Elector ADOLPHUS, with an annual pension; and died in February 1468. His elder brother GEINSFLEICH died in 1462. Their epitaphs are printed by Mr. MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 154. 295. N.

book which is known to have a genuine date, it became a common practice, after that publication, for printers to claim their own performances, by the addition of their names.

The progress of the art has been thus traced through its *second* period, the invention of *cut metal types*. But the honour of *completing* the discovery is due to PETER SCHOEFFER [S] *de Gernsheim*.

A very clear account of this final completion of the types is preserved by TRITHEMIUS [T]: "Post hæc inventis successerunt subtiliora, inveneruntque modum *fundendi formas* omnium Latini alphabeti

[S] In German, *Schoeffer*; in Latin, OPILIO; in English, SHEPHERD.—He is supposed by Mr. MEERMAN to have been the first ENGRAVER on Copper Plates. The Poet, whose verses we have cited in p. 84, says of him,

"Natio quæque suum poterit reperire charagma

"Secum; nempe stylo præminet omnigeno."

It is not quite certain, however, as Mr. MEERMAN observes, whether this is meant for a compliment to his skill in what is now called ENGRAVING; it may perhaps mean only that he was able to *cut types* to represent all languages. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 253. N.

[T] *Annales Hirsaugiensis*, tom. II. ad ann. 1450, p. 421. As this book was finished in 1514, and TRITHEMIUS tells us he had the narrative from SCHOEFFER himself about thirty years before, this will bring us back to 1484, when SCHOEFFER must have been advanced in years, and TRITHEMIUS about twenty-two years old, who died in 1516. See Voss. *Hist. Lat.* l. III. c. 10. FABR. *Med. & Infim.* *Ætat.* l. IX, B.

“literarum [U], quas ipsi *matrices* nominabant;
 “ex quibus rursus æneos sive stanneos characteres
 “fundebant, ad omnem pressuram sufficientes, quos
 “prius manibus sculpebant. Et revera sicuti *ante*
 “xxx ferme annos ex ore Petri Opilionis de Gern-
 “heim, civis Moguntini, qui gener erat primi artis
 “inventoris, audivi, magnam a primo inventionis
 “suæ hæc ars impressoria habuit difficultatem.—
 “Petrus autem memoratus Opilio, tunc famulus
 “postea gener, sicut diximus, inventoris primi,
 “Johannis Fust, homo ingeniosus et prudens, faci-

[U] Mr. MEERMAN (vol. II. p. 47.) supposes there is an error in this passage, and that it should be read, “fundendi
 “formas omnium Latini alphabeti literarum [EX IIS] quas
 “ipsi *matrices* nominabant;” and explains it to mean, “That
 “they found out a method *fundendi formas* (that is, of casting
 “the bodies only) of all the letters of the Latin alphabet, FROM
 “WHAT they called *matrices* (on which they cut the face of each
 “letter); and from the same kind of matrices a method was in
 “time discovered of casting the complete letters (*æneos sive*
 “*stanneos characteres*) of sufficient hardness for the pressure
 “they had to bear, which letters were before (that is, when
 “the bodies only were cast) cut singly.” But this interpretation
 is itself *obscure*; and, with submission, the passage from
 TRITHEMIUS needs no correction. The simple sense is,
 That a mode was invented of *stamping the shape of the letters*
in matrices, from which were cast the complete types.—The
 first operation of the Founder at present is, to cut the *face* of
 the letter on a *steel punch*; this he strikes into a *copper matrix*;
 and from *matrices* the metal types are cast, without any fur-
 ther process. N. See hereafter, p. 143.

“liorem

“liorem modum *fundendi characteres* excogitavit, et
 “*artem, ut nunc est, complevit.*”

Another ample testimony in favour of SCHOEFFER is given by JO. FRID. FAUSTUS of Aschaffenburg, from papers preserved in his family: “PETER
 “SCHOEFFER of Gernsheim, perceiving his master
 “FUST’s design, and being himself ardently desirous
 “to improve the art, found out (by the good pro-
 “vidence of God) the method of cutting (*incidendi*)
 “the characters in a *matrice*, that the letters might
 “each be singly *cast*, instead of being *cut*. He pri-
 “vately *cut matrices* for the whole alphabet;
 “and when he shewed his master the letters cast
 “from these matrices, FUST was so pleased with the
 “contrivance, that he promised PETER to give him
 “his only daughter CHRISTINA in marriage; a pro-
 “mise which he soon after performed. But there
 “were as many difficulties at first with these let-
 “ters, as there had been before with *wooden* ones;
 “the metal being too soft to support the force of the
 “impression: but this defect was soon remedied, by
 “mixing the metal with a substance which suffi-
 “ciently hardened it.” This account has the more
 probability in it, as coming from a relation of FUST,
 yet ascribing the merit to SCHOEFFER [X]. It agrees

[X] MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 183. who copied this testi-
 mony from WOLFUS, Monum. Typograph. vol. I.
 p. 468, seq.

too with what JOHN SCHOEFFER tells us [Y], “ that
 “ in 1452 FUST completed the art, by the help of
 “ his servant PETER SCHOEFFER, whom he adopted
 “ for his son, and to whom he gave his daughter
 “ CHRISTINA [Z] in marriage, *pro digna laborum*
 “ *multarumque adinventionum remuneratione.* — FUST
 “ and SCHOEFFER concealed this new improvment,
 “ by administering an oath of secrecy to all whom
 “ they intrusted, till the year 1462; when, by the
 “ dispersion of their servants into different countries,
 “ at the sacking of Mentz by the archbishop AD-
 “ OLFHUS, the invention was publicly divulged.”

The first book printed with these *improved types* was DURANDI *Rationale*, in 1459; at which time, however, they seem to have had only *one size* of cast letters, as all the larger characters in the headlines, &c. are printed with *cut types*, as appears

[Y] In a colophon to the *Breviarium TRITHEMI*. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 144.

[Z] It is somewhat remarkable that JOHN SCHOEFFER should be mistaken in his mother's *name*; which, however, Mr. MEERMAN thinks he was, since his father (in a contract made, in 1477, with his kinsman FUST, about twenty copies in vellum, and 180 in paper, of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, being the residue of an impression printed in 1473) expressly calls his wife *Dynen*, i. e. DINAH; which KÖHLERUS, who has printed this contract, supposes to be a diminutive of CHRISTINA: though DINAH (or DEBORAH) is a very different name from CHRISTINA. MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 184. But see, more particularly, the Remarks in our Appendix, p. 143. N.

plainly by an inspection of the book [AA]. From this time to 1466 FUST and SCHOEFFER continued to print a considerable number of books; particularly the two famous editions of TULLY's *Offices*, which we have given an account of above, p. 59. In their earliest books, they printed more copies on *vellum* than on *paper*, which was the case both of their *Bibles* and TULLY's *Offices*. This, however, was soon inverted; and *paper* introduced for the greatest part of their impressions, a few only being printed on *vellum*, for curiosities, and for the purpose of being *illuminated* [BB]. How long FUST lived, is uncertain; but in 1471 we find SCHOEFFER was in partnership with CONRAD HENLIF and a kinsman of his master FUST [CC]. He published many books after the death of his father-in-law [DD]; the last of which that can be discovered is a third edition of the *Psalter* in 1490, in which the old *cut* types of the first edition were used [EE].

This Dissertation shall be closed with a short account of the claim of *Strasburgh*. It has been al-

[AA] MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 98.

[BB] Ibid. vol. I. p. 8.

[CC] Ibid. p. 7.

[DD] SCHWARZIUS, *Primar. Docum. de Orig. Typogr.* par. II. p. 4. has enumerated *forty-eight* books (*omnes grandiori forma*) printed by SCHOEFFER before 1492. And Mr. MEERMAN adds still more to that number. See vol. I. p. 253.

[EE] MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 52.

ready mentioned, that GUTENBERG was engaged in that city in different employments; and, among others, in an endeavour to attain the art of Printing [FF]. That these endeavours were unsuccessful, is plain from an authentic judicial decree of the senate of Strasburgh, in 1439, after the death of ANDREW DRIZEHEN [GG].

But there are many other proofs that GUTENBERG and his partners were never able to bring the art to perfection.

[FF] See above, p. 76, note [I].

[GG] Their first attempts were made about 1436, with *wooden types*. Mr. MEERMAN is of opinion that GEINSFLEICH junior (who was of an enterprising genius, and had already engaged in a variety of projects) gained some little insight into the business by visiting his brother, who was employed by LAURENTIUS, at Harleim, but not sufficient to enable him to practise it. It is certain, that, at the time of the law-suit, in 1439, much money had been expended, and no profit arising; and the unfortunate DRIZEHEN, in 1438, on his death-bed, lamented to his confessor, that he had been at great expence, without having been re-imburfed a single *obolus*. Nor did GUTENBERG (who persisted in his fruitless endeavours) reap any advantage from them; for, when he quitted Strasburgh, he was overwhelmed in debt, and under a necessity of selling every thing he was in possession of. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 108—202. All the depositions in the law-suit above-mentioned (with the judicial decree) are printed by Mr. MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 58—88. N.

1. WIMPHELINGIUS [HH], the oldest writer in favour of Strasburg, tells us, that GUTENBERG was the inventor of a new art of writing, *ars impressoria*, which might almost be called a divine benefit, and which he happily completed at Mentz; but does not mention one book of his printing: though he adds, that MENTELIUS printed many volumes correctly and beautifully, and acquired great wealth: whence we may conclude that he perfected what GUTENBERG had in vain essayed.

2. WIMPHELINGIUS, in another book [II], tells us, the art of Printing was found out by GUTENBERG *incomplete*; which implies, not that he practised the art in an imperfect manner (as LAURENTIUS had done at Harleim) but rather that he had not been able to accomplish what he aimed at.

3. GUTENBERG, when he left Strasburg in 1444 or the following year, and entered into partnership with GEINSFLEICH senior and others, had occasion for his brother's assistance, to enable him to complete the art; which shews that his former attempts at Strasburgh had been unsuccessful [KK].

4. These particulars are remarkably confirmed by TRITHEMIUS, who tells us, in two different places [LL],

[HH] *Epitome rerum Germanicarum*, ed. Argent. 1505. MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 202. vol. II. p. 139.

[II] *Catal. Episc. Argentin.* 1508. MEERMAN, ut supra.

[KK] MEERMAN, ut supra.

[LL] *Annal. Hirsaug.* ut supra, and *Chron. Sponheim.*
See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 103. 127.

that GUTENBERG spent all his substance in quest of this art; and met with such insuperable difficulties, that, in despair, he had nearly given up all hopes of attaining it, till he was assisted by the liberality of FUST, and by his brother's skill, in the city of Mentz.

5. ULRIC ZELL says [MM], the art was completed at Mentz; but that some books had been published in Holland earlier than in that city. Is it likely that ZELL, who was a German, would have omitted to mention Strasburgh, if it had preceded Mentz in Printing?

There is little doubt therefore that all GUTENBERG's labours at Strasburgh amounted to no more than a fruitless attempt, which he was at last under a necessity of relinquishing: and there is no certain proof of a single book having been printed in that city till after the dispersion of the printers in 1462 [NN], when

[MM] *Chronicon Coloniae*, 1499. ZELL attributes the invention to GUTENBERG at Mentz; whence, he says, the art was first communicated to Cologn, next to Strasburgh, and then to Venice. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 105.

[NN] From this period, Printing made a rapid progress in most of the principal towns of Europe, as will appear by an inspection of our Appendix, N° IV. In 1490, it reached Constantinople; and, according to Mr. PALMER, p. 281, &c. it was extended, by the middle of the next century, to Africa and America. It was introduced into Russia about 1560; but, from motives either of policy or superstition, it was speedily suppressed by the ruling powers; and, even

when MENTELIUS and EGGESTENIUS successfully pursued the business. The former indeed is supposed by some writers to have begun printing about the year 1447; but no sufficient authority appears for such an assertion.

Having mentioned MENTELIUS, let us examine for a moment how he comes to be considered as the inventor of Printing. The origin of the art was known to very few. The advocates for Mentz were divided in their sentiments between GUTENBERG and FUST. The city of Strasburgh put in its own claim to the invention; and GUTENBERG's failure of success there, cutting off his pretence to the honour of it, opened a way for MENTELIUS, who certainly was the first who published books in that city. JOHN SCHOT- under the present enlightened Empress, has scarcely emerged from its obscurity.—That it was early practised in the inhospitable regions of Iceland, we have the authority of the ingenious Mr. BRYANT: “ARNGRIM JONAS was born
“amidst the snows of *Iceland*; yet as much prejudiced in
“favour of his country as those who are natives of an
“happier climate. This is visible in his *Crymogæa*; but
“more particularly in his *Anatome Blefkiniana*. I have
“in my possession this curious little treatise, written in
“Latin by him in his own country, and printed *Typis Ho-*
“*lensibus in Islandiâ Boreali, anno 1612.* *Hola* is placed in
“some maps within the *Arctic Circle*, and is certainly not
“far removed from it. I believe, it is the farthest North of
“any place, where Arts and Sciences have ever resided.”
“*Observations and Inquiries relating to various parts of Ancient*
History, 1767, p. 277. B. & N.

TUS, a son of MENTELIUS's daughter, settled there in 1510, after having resided at Friburg in Basil, and took an opportunity of cultivating a report which was likely to prove so advantageous to him among his countrymen. He was more particularly excited to this, by JOHN SCHOEFFER, of Mentz; who boasted in his colophons, though not quite consistently with truth, that JOHN FUST, his grandfather by the mother's side, was the first inventor [OO]. As Strasburgh rivaled Mentz in its claim, why should SCHOTTUS give place to SCHOEFFER, or why MENTELIUS to FUST? If SCHOEFFER used artifice on one side, SCHOTTUS

[OO] JOHN SCHOEFFER was the first who attributed the invention to FUST; not, as other writers do, by saying that he assisted the first printers with money and advice; but ascribes it to *his own ingenuity*. He did not, however, venture to assert so much at once, but artfully proceeded to it by degrees. In his first colophon, 1503, he ascribes it *majoribus suis*, without naming them. In a dedication to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, in 1505, he ingeniously calls GUTENBERG the inventor, and FUST and SCHOEFFER the improvers. In 1509, he calls his grandfather *inventorem auctoremque*; and in 1515, in the colophon to TRITHEMIUS, which is above cited, he asserts that FUST completed the art with the assistance of PETER SCHOEFFER. By a continual repetition of colophons to this purpose, many were persuaded that the assertion was true, and among others, it seems, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN (see above, p. 14); to whom, however, in 1505, JOHN SCHOEFFER had given a very different account. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 144. N.

shewed

shewed more on the other. The former, without any testimony but his own repeated confident assertions, drew over many in favour of FUST, leaving GUTENBERG out of the question; and, among the rest, even the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, who, in 1518, granted SCHOEFFER *an exclusive privilege* of printing LIVY. SCHOTTUS was silent while this Emperor lived; but no sooner was he dead, than he endeavoured to persuade his successor CHARLES V, and the rest of the learned world, that FUST should be divested of his imaginary claims, and MENTELIUS be put in his place. To this purpose, from the year 1520, he prefixed his family arms to all the books he printed, which had been granted, by FREDERICK III, to his grandfather and descendants; adding to them an inscription, "that they were granted to JOHN MENTELIUS, *the first inventor of Printing.*" But the truth is, coat-armour had before been granted by that emperor to the *typothetae* and the *typographi*, to perpetuate the discovery [PP]; but to MENTELIUS he granted them only as a private man who was desirous of nobility, and the diploma contained not a word of the invention of Printing: nor did SCHOTTUS dare openly to assert that it was granted to MENTELIUS for the invention of the art, lest he should be detected in a falsehood; but was content, by using an ambiguous expression, to mislead inattentive readers [QQ].

[PP] See above, p. 69, note [F].

[QQ] MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 205. & seqq.

APPENDIX.

No I.

On the first-printed GREEK Books.

IT cannot be thought foreign to our plan, to give a short account of the invention of those *characters* by which the learned languages have been perpetuated, and particularly the Greek and Hebrew.

The first essays in GREEK that can be discovered are in the few sentences which occur in the famous edition of TULLY's *Offices*, 1465, at Mentz, which we have described above; but these were miserably incorrect and barbarous, if we may judge from the specimens Mr. MAITTAIRE has given us [a], of which the following is one:

Ορίσατααχαρτμαχατα και τατωτωχα.

In the same year, 1465, was published an edition of LACTANTIUS's *Institutes*, printed in *monasterio Sublacensi*, in the kingdom of Naples, in which the quotations from the Greek authors are printed in a very neat Greek letter [b]. Mr. MEERMAN observes,

[a] Vol. I. p. 61. & Pars posterior, p. 274.

[b] PALMER, Hist. of Printing, p. 124.

that there is *a very striking difference* between the Greek used in *Lactantius* and that of *Mentz*; as there is also in the types with which *the Latin* is printed. They seem to have had but *a very small quantity* of Greek in the monastery; for, in the first part of the work, whenever a long sentence occurred, a blank was left, that it might be written in with a pen; after the middle of the work, however, all the Greek that occurs is printed [c].

The first printers who settled at Rome were CONRAD SWEYNHEIM and ARNOLD PANNARTZ, who introduced the present *Roman* type, in 1467, in CRICERO's *Epistolæ Familiares*: in 1469 they printed a beautiful edition of AULUS GELLIUS, with the Greek quotations in a fair character, without accents or spirits, and with very few abbreviations [d].

It

[c] Before this period, the uniform character was the old *Gothic*, or *German*; whence our *Black* was afterwards formed. But *Lactantius* is printed in a kind of *Semi-gothic*, of great elegance, and approaching nearly to the present *Roman* type; which last was first used at Rome in 1467, and soon after brought to great perfection in Italy, particularly by JENSON. MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 248.

[d] After having printed, in six or seven years at most, a great number of very beautiful and correct editions, these ingenious printers were reduced to the most necessitous circumstances. Their learned patron the Bishop of ALERIA (who was the editor of AULUS GELLIUS) presented a petition to Pope Sixtus IV, in 1471, in behalf of "these
" worthy

It appears then that some considerable fragments of Greek were very early introduced into printed books; but the first whole book that is yet known is the Greek Grammar of CONSTANTINE LASCARIS, in quarto, revised by DEMETRIUS CRETENSIS, and printed by DIONYSIUS PALAVISINUS, at Milan, 1476 [2].

"worthy and industrious printers;" in which he represents their great merit and misery in the most pathetic terms; and declares their readiness to part with their whole stock for subsistence. "We were the first of the Germans (they say) who introduced this art, with vast labour and cost, into your Holiness's territories, in the time of your predecessor: and encouraged, by our example, other printers to do the same. If you peruse the catalogue of the works printed by us, you will admire how and where we could procure a sufficient quantity of paper, or even rags, for such a number of volumes.—The total of these books amounts to 12,475, a prodigious heap, and intolerable to us, your Holiness's printers, by reason of those unfold. We are no longer able to bear the great expence of house-keeping, for want of buyers; of which there cannot be a more flagrant proof, than that our house, though otherwise spacious enough, is full of *Quire-books*, but void of every necessary of life." The curious Reader may see the whole of this interesting petition, which is dated March 1, 1472, with the catalogue of their books, in PALMER, p. 130, &c. who has translated it from CHEVILLIER. See also MAITTAIRE, vol. I, p. 46. & Pars posterior, p. 276.

[2] PALMER, p. 215.

In 1481, the *Greek Psalter* was printed in that city, with a Latin translation, in folio [f].

Venice [g] soon followed the example of Milan; and in 1486 were published in that city the *Greek Psalter*, and the *Batrachomyomachia*, the former by ALEXANDER, the latter by LAONICUS, both natives of Crete. They were printed in a very uncommon character; the latter of them with *accents* and *spirits*, and also with *scholia* [h].

[f] LE LONG, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, p. 436. A fine copy of this edition is now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. DE MISSY, purchased by that Gentleman, with many other valuable books, at the sale of the Harleian Library.

[g] In an edition of PLINY's *Natural History*, printed by JO. DE SPIRA in 1469 (see above, p. 45), a Greek inscription, l. vii. c. 58, is thus miserably mis-printed in Roman letters, "xaxilipeui canece comai cockpture trata una ciezia," instead of Νεομεγάρης Τισαμένε Ἀθηναῖος Κόρη ἔ Ἀθηναῖος αὐθιγχευ. CHISHULL, *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 20. A copy of this edition (which HARDUIN seems not to have known of, and which is the more valuable for preserving this signal mark of ignorance in the editor) was in Dr. MEAD's magnificent library; whence it afterwards came into the curious collection of another Gentleman who was equally an ornament to Literature and to Medicine, the late learned Dr. ASKEW. This book, containing 750 pages was printed in the short space of three months. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 15.

[h] MAITTAIRE, vol. I. p. 182.—"If MAITTAIRE left it a matter of doubt whether the *Psalter* has *accents* and *spirits*, it must be because he had not seen the book: for it has them certainly in my copy, nor do I remember they

In 1488, however, all former publications in this language were eclipsed by a fine edition of HOMER's works at Florence, in folio, printed by DEMETRIUS, a native of *Crete*. Thus Printing (says Mr. MAITTAIRE, p. 185.) seems to have attained its *apex* of perfection, after having exhibited most beautiful specimens of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. (See *Appendix*, N° II.)

In 1493, a fine edition of ISOCRATES was printed at *Milan*, in folio, by HENRY GERMAN and SEBASTIAN EX PANTREMULO. (See PALMER, p. 158.)

All the above works are prior in time to those of ALDUS, who has been erroneously supposed to be the first Greek Printer; yet the beauty, correctness, and
 “ were wanting in the only one I ever saw besides, I mean the
 “ copy which, if I mistake not, was purchased for three
 “ guineas and a half by Dr. ASKEW from Dr. MEAD's Li-
 “ brary. As to the *Types* (whether cast or cut, for I have
 “ some scruples about it) they may be called a rough, though
 “ not altogether unlike imitation of those *Mss. medii ævi*, such
 “ as some in my possession, which I look upon as written by
 “ a purely Greek hand, and not with a pen, but with a reed.
 “ I had formerly (but gave them to Dr. ASKEW, who in re-
 “ turn *promised* me some other trifling literary favour) a few
 “ leaves of an ancient printed book which I guessed was LAS-
 “ CARIS's or GAZA's Greek Grammar; and the impresson
 “ of which, as it then seemed to me, resembled very much
 “ that of the Psalter in question. A more imperfect resem-
 “ blance of its coeval *Batrachomyomachia*, may be seen in the
 “ engraved specimen of it which was drawn, I suppose, by
 “ MAITTAIRE himself, and published with his edition of
 “ that Poem, *anno* 1721.” C. D. M.

number of his editions place him in a much higher rank than his predecessors. His characters were more beautiful and elegant than any before used. He was born in 1445, and died in 1515 [n].

This article should close here; but it would be unpardonable not to mention the celebrated ROBERT STEPHENS and his son HENRY; whose impressions, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are well known. Though the noble Greek books of ALDUS had raised an universal desire of reviving that tongue, the French were backward in introducing it. The only pieces printed by them were some quotations, so wretchedly performed, that they were rather to be guessed at than read [o];

[n] ALDUS was the inventor of the *Italic* character which is now in use, called, from his name, *Aldine*, or *Cursives*. This sort of letter he contrived, to prevent the great number of abbreviations that were then in use; a singular specimen of which is preserved by CHEVILLIER, p. 110: Sī hic ε fæl sm qd ad simplr α e pducibile a deo, g̃ α ε & str hic a η ε g̃ a η ε pducibile a deo, &c. i. e. "Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter A est producibile a deo: Ergo A est. Et similiter hic A non est: Ergo non est producibile a deo." PALMER, p. 151, 152. MAITTAIRE, vol. I. p. 237.

[o] This is said on the authority of PALMER, p. 270.— "The father of ROBERT was also named HENRY, and was perhaps the first that began to print Greek quotations in such a manner that they could not be said to be *wretchedly performed, and rather to be guessed at than read*. I judge of this by his edition of *Fabri Stapulensis Quincuplex Psalterium*, printed at Paris, and published in 1513." C. D. M.

in a character very rude and uncouth, and without accents. But FRANCIS TISSARD, in 1507, introduced the study of this language at Paris, where the printing of it was successfully practised till brought to the highest perfection by ROBERT and HENRY STEPHENS.

The first Greek edition of the *whole Bible* was printed at *Complutum*, under the care of Cardinal XIMENES [p]; but as this edition, though finished

[p] See our Appendix, N° III. p. 128. And see an account of all the early Greek and Latin editions both of the Old and New Testament in LE LONG's *Bibliotheca Sacra*. — Mr. MAITTAIRE, however, *Annal. Typogr.* t. I. p. 41, mentions a Latin Bible, of Paris, unnoticed by LE LONG, which is without a date; but is fixed by [Mr. BARRICAVE] a learned friend of Mr. MAITTAIRE's to the year 1464, the third year of the reign of LOUIS XI, from the three following verses printed in a colophon at the end of it:

“Jam semi undecimus lustrum Francos LUDOVICUS

“Rexerat, ULRIEUS, MARTINUS, itemque MICHAEL

“Orti Teutoniâ hanc mihi composuere figuram.”

Mr. PALMER, *Hist. of Printing*, p. 100, after citing the above conjecture, adds, “I am persuaded that Mr. MAITTAIRE's friend was mistaken in the first verse. As CHEVILLIER gives us the same colophon at the end of the first Paris Bible by the same three partners, with this variation however from the former, that instead of *semi lustrum*, it has *tribus lustris*, that is, instead of the *third*, it imports the *thirteenth* year of that King's reign: we may easily suppose, that it was the first Paris Bible of 1475; and this Gentleman might probably be mistaken: however, the book being in Queen's College library, in

“Cam-

in 1517, was not published till 1522, that of *Venice*, 1518, may properly be called the first edition of the whole Greek Bible, though ERASMUS had published the New Testament, at Basil, in 1516.

“Cambridge, it may be easily consulted.” We have the authority of the very learned and accurate Dr. TAYLOR in MS. to assert, that “MR. MAITTAIRE’s friend was not mistaken. “The verses are as quoted by Mr. MAITTAIRE, *semi lustrum*, “not *tribus lustris* ;” and, that “the book is not in Queen’s “College Library, but in the Library of the University, in “that part of it which was given by King George I.”—We shall just mention occasionally, as it falls in our way, another very scarce Latin Bible published by SERVETUS, whence Dr. GREGORY SHARPE cites a note of SERVETUS, in his *Second Argument*, &c. and of which he says, p. 254, *The Jesuits at Lions, when I enquired after this book, did not know that it ever had been published: and Mr. Arkenholtz, a very learned and ingenious man, the librarian at Hesse Cassel, where the works of Servetus are supposed to be preserved, though the CHRISTIANISMUS RESTITUTUS is lost, having been stolen out of the library, when the Landgrave himself was present, did not, till I convinced him, believe that Servetus ever published an edition of the Bible.* In Dr. MEAD’s Catalogue, p. 3, this edition is intituled, *Biblia Sacra ex Pagnini translatione, per MICH. VILLANOVANUM*, i. e. SERVETUM, *Lugduni*, 1542, *folio*. B. & N.—“If Dr. “SHARPE’s intention in this note was only, as I suppose, to “make his Readers sensible how scarce a book that Bible is “from which he quoted a passage, it may be but seconding his “intention to observe, that *his* copy, Dr. MEAD’s copy, and “*my* copy of it, are but *one*: *his* copy being that which he had “borrowed of me, and *mine* being no other than Dr. MEAD’s; “which I purchased when his library was sold by auction in “1754.” C. D. M.—For Seven Pounds, as appears by a Catalogue in which the prices are marked. N. N^o

N° II.

On the first-printed HEBREW Books:
with Observations on some modern Editions;
and a Collation, from WALTON's Polyglott,
of a remarkable passage, as printed in *Kings*
and *Chronicles*.

A VERY satisfactory account of this branch of
Printing is thus given by a Gentleman whose learned
labours have for many years been constantly em-
ployed in elucidating the Hebrew Scriptures [a]:

“ The method which seems to have been originally
“ observed, in printing the Hebrew Bible, was just
“ what might have been expected :

“ I. The PENTATEUCH, in 1482 [b].

“ II. The PRIOR PROPHETS, in 1484 [c].

[a] Dr. KENNICOTT, in *Ten Annual Accounts of the Colla-
tion of Hebrew Mss.* p. 112. In the Doctor's Plan for print-
ing a corrected Bible (dated Dec. 16, 1772) an edition of
the *Psalms* is mentioned, so early as 1477.

[b] A copy of this edition is preserved at Verona. An-
other copy of it is in the curious Library of the Margrave
of BADEN DURLAC. *Annual Accounts*, p. 112,

[c] This edition (containing *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Samuel*)
Dr. KENNICOTT saw in the Royal Library at Paris. *Ibid.*

“ III.

“ III. The POSTERIOR PROPHETS, in 1486 [*d*].

“ IV. The HAGIOGRAPHA, in 1487 [*e*].

“ And, after the FOUR great parts had been thus
“ printed separately (each with a comment), THE
“ WHOLE TEXT (without a comment) was printed in
“ one volume in 1488 [*f*]: and the text continued to be
“ printed,

[*d*] This edition contained the *Prophetæ priores* and *posteriores*, according to WOLFIUS, *Biblioth. Hebraica*, vol. II. p. 397. See Dr. KENNICOTT's State of the printed Hebrew Text, *Differt. II.* p. 472. It was printed at *Soncino*, in the dutchy of Milan, without vowel points, cum Com. DAVID KIMCHI, fol. See LE LONG, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, p. 129; and PALMER, p. 249.

[*e*] Printed at Naples in 1487. A copy of the *Hagiographa*, in two volumes, on vellum, was presented by Dr. PELLET to Eaton College Library. It contains many curious readings, different from all the other printed copies, and contrary to the *Masora*. The last is probably one of the reasons for which the whole edition may have been destroyed excepting this copy, which had the singular good fortune to escape the flames. Dr. PELLET says, *Hoc exemplar unicum, & flammis ereptum, uti par est credere*. This edition however is printed with the vowel points, except one whole page of *Daniel*. See Dr. KENNICOTT, *Diff. I.* p. 521. *Diff. II.* p. 473.—Another copy has been since discovered, in the *Casanatensian* library at Rome. *Annual Collations*, p. 112.

[*f*] Printed at Soncino, with vowel points, by ABRAHAM fil. Rabbi HHAJIM, fol. See LE LONG, p. 96, where is a particular enumeration of all the principal editions till the year 1709. The whole of the *New Testament* was first published

NO A P P E N D I X.

“ printed, as in these first editions, so in several others
 “ for twenty or thirty years, without marginal *Keri*
 “ or *Masora*, and with greater agreement to the more
 “ antient Mss.; till, about the year 1520, some of
 “ the Jews adopted *later* Mss. and the *Masora*; which
 “ absurd preference has obtained ever since.”

Thus much for the *ancient* editions given by Jews.

In 1742, a Hebrew Bible was printed at Mantua, under the care of the most learned Jews in Italy. This Bible had not been heard of among the Christians in this country, nor perhaps in any other; though the nature of it is very extraordinary. The text indeed is nearly the same with that in other modern editions: but at the bottom of each page are Various Readings, amounting in the whole to above 2000, and many of them of great consequence, collected from Mss. printed editions, copies of the

published in Hebrew by ELIAS HUTTER in 1599, in a Polyglott edition, which will be described in our Appendix, N° III. B. & N.—“ But long enough before this, at
 “ Basil, anno 1537, was published (*typis* HENRICI PETRI)
 “ a small folio, containing a pretended antient Gospel of St.
 “ *Matthew* in Hebrew, together with a Latin Translation,
 “ and Annotations by the Editor SEBASTIANUS MUN-
 “ STERUS; the same who, anno 1535, had published an
 “ Hebrew Bible, with a new Latin Translation of his own,
 “ and Annotations, at Basil, in two volumes in folio: which
 “ were reprinted at Basil with considerable improvements,
 “ anno 1546. Of this I have a fine copy.” C. D. M.

Talmud,

Talmud, and the works of the most renowned Rabbies. And in one of the notes is this remark:—
 “That in several passages of the Hebrew Bible the
 “differences are so many and so great, that they know
 “not which to fix upon as the true Readings [g].”

We cannot quit this subject without observing, on Dr. KENNICOTT's authority, that as the first printed Bibles are more correct than the later ones, so the variations between the first edition, printed in 1488, and the edition of VANDER HOOCHT, in 1705, at Amsterdam, in 2 vols, 8vo, amount upon the whole, to above TWELVE THOUSAND! [b]

But these are not the only Variations that we are concerned to take notice of. Parallel places of Scripture, though evidently derived from the same original, are found to differ in no small degree. Of this many striking instances have been long since given by Dr. KENNICOTT, in his *State of the printed Hebrew Text*, Diff. I. And we are enabled, by the kindness of a valuable Friend, to lay before the Reader another specimen of the same kind, in a Collation of the accounts of the Dedication of the Temple, as written 1 Kings vii. 51. viii. 1, &c. and 2 Chron. v. 1, &c.

[g] Dr. KENNICOTT's Plan; Dec. 16, 1772.

[b] Annual Accounts, p. 130.

A C O L L A T I O N

OF THE ACCOUNT OF

The DEDICATION of the TEMPLE.

1 Kings vii.

2 Chron. v.

VARIOUS READINGS.

Ver. 51.	המלך . . .	Ver. 1. wanting.
	בית falsely for . . .	לבית
	דוד . . .	דויד
	את הכסף . . .	ואת הכסף wrong,
	ואת הכלים . . .	ואת כל הכלים
	יהיה . . .	האלהים
viii. 1.	יקהל . . .	יקהיל
	המלך שלמה re- dundant.	wanting
	דוד . . .	דויד
2.	שלמה . . .	3. wanting.
	בירח האתנים	improperly omitted.
3.	הכהנים . . .	4. הלויים
4.	את ארון יהוה	5. יהוה את הארון without
	ועלו . . .	העלו
	והלויים rightly.	הלויים
5.	אתו redundant.	6. wanting.
6.	ויבאו . . .	7. ויביאו
	הכרובים . . .	הכרובים
7.	כי . . .	8. ויהי
	אל . . .	על
	ויסכו lit. transpositis.	ויכסו
	הכרובים . . .	הכרובים
8.	ויארכו . . .	9. ויארכו
	הקדש . . .	הארון
	ויהי rightly.	ויהי
9.	לחות האבנים . . .	* 10. לחות האבנים without

* N. B. כרת seems to be wanting in both places after ברית.

1 Kings viii.

2 Chron. v. and vi.

VARIOUS READINGS.

9. הנה	10. נתן
rightly	negligently omitted.
מארץ מצרים	ממצרים
10. והענן מלא את בית יהוה	13. והבית מלא ענן * בית יהוה
11. את בית יהוה	14. את בית האלהים
13. בנה	vi. 2. ואני
מכון	ומכון
14. עמד	3. עומד
15. דוך	4. דויד
ובידו	ובידו
16. את ישראל	5. wanting.
ממצרים	ממארץ מצרים
N. B. The opposite 13 words, though necessary to complete the sense, are omitted in Kings, owing to the similar endings of two sentences, one of which the transcriber negligently overlooked.	
16. ברוד	6. ברוד
17. דוד	7. דויד
18. דוד	8. דויד
הטיבת	הטיבות
19. כי אם	9. אם כי without
20. ואקם	10. ואקום
דוד	ודויד
21. ואשם	11. ואשים
מקום לארון	את הארון
אבתנו	בני ישראל
בהוציאו אתם מארץ מצרים	wanting.

* For בית the LXX read כבוד. The text is evidently wrong; and ought to stand as in 1 Kings.

1 Kings viii.

2 Chron. vi.

VARIOUS READINGS.

22. שלמה	12. wanting.
השמים	13. * השמימה
23. אלהים	14. האלהים
כמעל	wanting.
ועל הארץ	ובארץ
מתחת	wanting.
24. דוד	15. דו"י
25. דוד	16. דיד
ישב	יושב
לפני	בתורתי
26. אלהי	17. יהיה אלהי
נא	wanting.
דברך wrong.	דברך right.
דוד אבי	לדוד
27. wanting.	18. את האדם
השמים	שמים
יכלכלך	יכלכלוך
28. היום	19. wanting.
29. עינך	20. עיניך
פתחת	פתוחות
לילה ויום	יונים ולילה
יהיה שמי	לשום שמך
לשמע	לשמוע
30. תחנת	21. תחנני
אל מקום	ממקום
אל השמים	מן השמים
31. את אשר	22. אם
32. השמים	23. מן השמים
להרשיע רשע	להשיב לרשע
33. בהנגף	24. ואם ינגף
אשר	כי

* Verse 13th is a parenthesis (not extant in Kings) with part of verse 12th repeated.

1 Kings viii.

2 Chron. vi.

VARIOUS READINGS.

33. אליך	24. wanting.
אליך	לפניך
34. השמים	25. מן השמים
והשבתם	והשיבותם
נתת לאבותם	נתתה להם ולאבתיהם
35. שמים	26. השמים
ומחטאתם	מחטאתם
36. את הדרך	27. אל הדרך
37. ירקון	28. ירקון right.
איבו	wrong.
כל מחלה	right.
38. תהיה	29. יהיה
לכל עמך	ולכל עמך
ידעון	ידעו
נגע לבבו	נגעו ומכאבו
39. השמים	30. מן השמים
ועשית	wanting.
ונתת	ונתתה
ידעת לברך	לברך ידעת
כל בני	כל without בני
40. יראוך	31. ייראוך
wanting.	ללכת בדרכיך
42. כי ישמעון את שמך	32. wanting.
ואת ירך	ירך
וזרעך	וזרעך
ובא	ובאו
והתפלל	והתפללו
43. אתה	33. ואתה
השמים	בן השמים
מכוס	ממכוס
ידעון	ידעו
ליראה	וליראה
44. איבו	34. איביו

1 Kings viii.

2 Chron. vi.

VARIOUS READINGS.

44. אל יהוה .	34. אליך .
wanting. .	הואת .
בנתי .	בנתי .
45. השמים .	35. מן השמים .
46. שביהם .	36. שוביהם .
האויב .	wanting. .
47. אל לבם .	37. אל לבבם .
שביהם .	שבים .
והעונו .	והעונו right. .
רשענו .	והרשענו right. .
48. לבבם .	38. לבם .
איביהם .	שבים .
אליך .	wanting. .
העיר .	והעיר .
והבית .	ולבית .
בנית .	בנתי right. .
49. השמים .	39. מן השמים .
מכון .	ממכון .
תחנתם .	תחנתיהם .

N. B. This Collation, made from WALTON's *Polyglott*, proceeds no farther, because the remainder of SOLOMON's Prayer is very different in *Kings*, from what it is in *Chronicles*; for which difference if the Learned could clearly account, it would be of great service to this important branch of Literature.

In Mr. CLARKE'S *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, among many other interesting particulars, is a curious Dissertation on the *Jewish Money*; in which the *Shekel*, as determined by GRSEPSIUS*, is proved (against the united authority of VILLALPANDUS and GREAVES) to have been synonymous to the *Didrachma*, or forty-eighth part of a pound: and consequently a fourth part of an ounce; not half an ounce, as has been commonly supposed.

* “It is now almost two centuries since STANISLAUS GRSEPSIUS, a learned Polander, published a treatise, *De multiplici fide, et talento Hebraico*. This book met with a very singular fate. It was at first much neglected, and then, about a century afterwards, published in Germany, as a very choice Ms. found in one of their libraries. One HENRICUS GOUTIER THULEMARIUS reprinted it word for word, without taking the least notice of its author; and this Literary Pirate was in time regarded as the true Proprietor. See BAUDELLOT, *Utilité des Voyages*, vol. II. p. 247. and FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Ant.* p. 27.” Mr. CLARKE, p. 242.—This learned work of GRSEPSIUS would not be a temptation to a Literary Pirate of these days!

N^o. III.

On the first-printed POLYGLOTTs.

THE first POLYGLOTT work was printed at Genoa in 1516, by PETER PAUL PORRUS [*a*], who undertook to print the Pentaglott Psalter of AUGUSTIN JUSTINIAN, bishop of Nebo. It was in Hebrew, Arabic [*b*], Chaldaic, and Greek, with the Latin Versions, Glosses,

[*a*] “By PORRUS it was *printed* at Genoa, in *ædibus Nicolai JUSTINIANI Pauli*; whither he seems to have been invited for that purpose: after which I conceive that he returned to his usual place of abode at Turin; as by himself, at the end of the book, he is called *Petrus Porrus Mediolanensis TAURINI DEGENS.*” C.D.M.

[*b*] The Arabic version is of no authority, as it was translated, not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint; where the version of the Prophets (particularly *Jeremiah*) is less faithful than that of the other books of the Old Testament, and was probably made by a Jew who was very ignorant of Hebrew. But this is very far from being the case of the Pentateuch. See MICHAELIS, *Syntagma Commentationum*, 1763, Comm. III. p. 58. and PRIDEAUX, vol. II. folio, p. 36. The Illyrian, Gothic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac versions were all made from the Septuagint; though there is still in being an older version of the Syriac, translated immediately from the Hebrew original. PRIDEAUX, p. 37.

“The Arabic is the *latest* of all the antient versions of the Old Testament.—In the year 942 died R. SAADIAS, called

Glosses, and Scholia, which last made the eighth column, in *folio*. The *Arabic* was the first that ever was printed, and this the first piece of the Bible that ever appeared in so many languages [b].

In
“ called *Gaon* (i. e. *the illustrious*), who presided over the
“ Babylonian schools.—The chief merit of this learned and
“ laborious Rabbi is, that he translated all the Old Testa-
“ ment from the Hebrew into Arabic; expressing the Ara-
“ bic in Hebrew characters. But though the whole He-
“ brew Bible was thus translated by him; yet *the Penta-*
“ *teuch* only has been, as yet, published from his version.
“ The other books, now in Arabic, in the Paris and Lon-
“ don Polyglotts, were translated at different times, by dif-
“ ferent authors; partly from the Greek, and partly from
“ the Syriac versions: and but few parts, if any, (except-
“ ing the Pentateuch) were translated from the Hebrew.”
Dr. KENNICOTT, on the State of the printed Hebrew Text,
Diff. II. p. 452—454.

See a particular enumeration of the Arabic versions, both
Ms. and printed, in LE LONG, p. 214, &c.

[b] JUSTINIAN, presuming this work would procure him
great gain, as well as reputation, caused 2000 copies to be
printed of it, and promised in his Preface to proceed with
the other parts of the Bible. But he was miserably disap-
pointed: every body applauded the work; but few pro-
ceeded further; and scarce a fourth part of his number was
fold. Besides the 2000 copies, he had also printed fifty
upon vellum, which he presented to all the kings, whether
Christians or Infidels. The whole New Testament was
prepared for the press by JUSTINIAN, who had also made

In 1518, JOHN POTKEN published the Psalter, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic, [or Chaldaic, as he, with some others, called it,] at Cologne; but the name of the Printer is no where to be found throughout the book [c]. It has no Preface properly so called :

great progress in the Old. See LE LONG, Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 2. MAITTAIRE, Annal. Typ. tom. II. Par. I. p. 121. PALMER, Hist. of Printing, p. 263.

[c] The *Printer's* name is no where mentioned, that we know of, except in the following observations of the Reverend C. DE-MISSY, to whom this article had been communicated : 'I would almost venture to affirm, that you have named him when you named *Potken*. For if he does not say expressly that *he* was the Printer, he seems at least to give us a broad hint of it, when he says : *Statui jam senex linguas externas aliquas discere : & per artem impressoriam, quam adolescens didici, edere : ut modico ære libri in diversis linguis, formis æneis excusi emi possint*. These words might have been minded, but were omitted, by *Le Long* in the abstracts he made of Potken's address to his readers at the end of the book. Towards the end of the same Address he says *imprimi curavi* : but such a phrase may very well be understood of one who saw his work printed at home with his own types. And besides, he might have chosen that phrase as the most convenient, on account of his having been absent for some time while the impression was carried on by his kinsman and learned assistant *Soter, alias Heyl*. Confer with the above Address what he says, p. 7. (col. 2 *sub finem*) of his *Introductiunculæ*, &c. a small work of no more than four leaves, which was certainly intended to go along with the Psalter, though

called : But from an Address of POTKEN to the studious Readers, which is printed on the last page of the Psalter,

‘ though it is not always, and is perhaps very seldom,
 ‘ to be found with it. In the abovementioned Address he
 ‘ pretends to be the first who had *imported into Europe* what
 ‘ he calls *the Chaldee* [now more properly called the
 ‘ *Æthiopic*] *Tongue*. And nothing hitherto has appeared to
 ‘ the contrary. Some quibblers indeed might object, that
 ‘ it rather was imported by the *Æthiopian* Fryars who had
 ‘ helped him to learn it. But he certainly seems to have
 ‘ been the first who presented the European Republic of
 ‘ Letters with a printed *Introduciuncula* to the Reading of
 ‘ that language : nor could any body, that I know of, have
 ‘ said in 1518, that in 1513 he had published or printed an
 ‘ *Æthiopic* book in Europe, as Potken does in his Address
 ‘ of 1518, where he acquaints us, that nearly five years
 ‘ before, he had given at Rome an edition of the *Æthiopic*
 ‘ Psalter printed by itself : for it is evidently of such a
 ‘ Psalter that he says : *Psalterium arte impressoria*
 ‘ *quinquennio vix exaëlo, Romæ edidi* : which
 ‘ book is noticed by *Le Long*, in these words : *Psalmi &*
 ‘ *Canticum Canticorum Æthiopice studio Joannis Potken cum*
 ‘ *ejus præfatione Latina, in 4°. Romæ 1513.* That *Latin*
 ‘ *Preface*, could I get a sight of it, would perhaps enable
 ‘ me to be more particular and more positive. The book
 ‘ is marked by *Le Long* himself as being in the Royal
 ‘ Library at Paris ; and an account of the said *Preface*,
 ‘ no-doubt, might easily be obtained, if asking for it should
 ‘ become a matter of any importance to the curious. Thus
 ‘ much, however, I thought, might be proposed provi-
 ‘ sionally, concerning the name of the Printer to whom

Psalter, we are informed, that, while his earnest zeal for Christianity, and for the Roman See, made him extremely

‘the world was indebted for Potken’s Polyglott Psalter.
 ‘—— But since I have dwelt so long upon that subject,
 ‘I cannot well dismiss it without adding a word about the
 ‘rank which Le Long gives to this work among the first
 ‘printed Polyglott Psalters; immediately after that of *Jus-*
 ‘*tiniani*, printed by *Porrus* in 1516; and before another,
 ‘by him supposed to be printed, as well as Potken’s, two
 ‘years later. *Psalterium Hebraice, Græce, & Latine, cura*
 ‘*& studio Desid. Erasmi. V. S. Hieronymi Opera, in fol.*
 ‘*Basileæ, typis Amerbachii* 1518. Such was Le Long’s in-
 ‘dication of the book in the first edition of his *Bibliotheca*
 ‘*Sacra*. In the last Paris edition (1723) it runs thus:
 ‘“Psalterium Hebraice, & Latine, tam ex Versione S.
 ‘“Hieronymi secundum Hebraicam veritatem quam ex
 ‘“Vulgata Latina, cura & studio Desid. Erasmi & Conr.
 ‘“Pellicani. V. S. *Hieronymi Opera*, in fol. Basileæ, typis
 ‘“*Amerbachii* 1518,” and is followed by these scraps *Ex*
 ‘*præfatione Brunonis Amerbachii*. “Veteri probatæque
 ‘“Theologiæ plurimum lucis accessurum ex hac castissima
 ‘“[*it should have been castigatissima*] Hieronymianorum ope-
 ‘“rum editione, quam in primis Erasmo, nonnihil etiam nobis
 ‘“studiosi ferre debent acceptum [*for acceptam*] . . . Nos huic
 ‘“octavo tomo corollarii vice quadruplex Psalterium adje-
 ‘“cimus, videlicet & Hebraicum, & huic oppositam D.
 ‘“[*divi*] Hieronymi versionem, quam vulgo Hebræam ve-
 ‘“ritatem appellant, Græcum item, cui respondet e regione
 ‘“tralatia quæ passim legitur, ἀδελφῶν, hoc est incerto auctore
 ‘“[*auctore incerto*] . . . & in Hebraicis præcipue curavimus,
 ‘“ut quam minimum ab archetypis & his antiquissimis disce-
 ‘deremus

extremely desirous of learning foreign languages,
especially what he calls the Chaldee, for which he
was

“deremus Porro fatemur ingenue hoc negotii &c
“ἀνευθυσέως, [ἐν ἀνευ θυσέως,] quod aiunt, nos confecisse,
“sed adjutus [adjutos] opera doctissimi pariter & humanissimi
“Patris Conradi [Chonradi] Pellicani Rubeaquentis, ex
“familia D. [divi] Francisci, cujus auspicio potissimum hæc
“res peracta est.” What shall we say to all this? I have
“certainly strong reasons to question whether Le Long ever
“saw an edition of what is commonly called *Erasmus's St.*
“*Jerom*, bearing the date of 1518: except some copy or
“copies of the first edition should be supposed to have been
“sold with a new title bearing such a date. But even this
“I have strong reasons to disbelieve. The most, in short,
“I can grant is, that considering the more general use, and
“of course the more general demand, of the eighth vo-
“lume, or even of the very separable part of it which con-
“tains the Polyglott Psalter; some copies of either may
“have been sold singly with any fresher title and date, in
“order to please that very common sort of buyers who will
“by all means be served with the newest edition. A copy
“of the intire eighth volume I can shew, the date of which,
“in the title page, is so late as 1527. But then, on the very
“back of that title page, is printed a short Preface by
“Bruno Amerbachius, the original date of which is thus pre-
“served: *Idibus Januariis. Anno M.D.XVI*: and in which he
“declares that a peculiar Preface shall be given to the Poly-
“glott Psalter. Now this peculiar Preface is certainly the
“same from which the above abstracts have been taken by
“Le Long: and being likewise printed on the back of the
“Psalter's title-page, preserves also the original date of
“the

was destitute of any proper master; some Æthiopian Fryars happened to be at Rome, (as he expresses it)

pere-

‘ the said year 1516: from which circumstances, without
 ‘ descending to more minute particulars, it is plain, I think,
 ‘ that this Psalter, being two years more antient than Pot-
 ‘ ken’s, ought to have been placed before it. Nay, I would
 ‘ fain ask, if it might not dispute the precedency even with
 ‘ Porrus’s? And this at least I can affirm, that Porrus’s
 ‘ date is *Menſe VIIIbri*, and Amerbach’s *VIII Calend. Sep-*
 ‘ *tembreis*. Neither could it well be urged as a decisive
 ‘ point in favour of Porrus’s, that its date is at the end of
 ‘ the work, while Amerbach’s is only at the end of a Pre-
 ‘ face, on the very back of the title-page, which apparently
 ‘ was printed the first of all, and that the time required to
 ‘ print the rest might retard the dispatch of the whole book
 ‘ beyond the month of November. For, not to mention
 ‘ the Printer’s well-known and almost prodigious diligence,
 ‘ who, by taking proper measures before-hand, and setting
 ‘ several presses at work for the same book, might have done
 ‘ with it before the last mentioned month; it will be suffi-
 ‘ cient to observe, *in the first place*, That the first sheet of
 ‘ the first *Quaternio*, though ready for the press, may have
 ‘ been purposely left with a blank page (either worked-off
 ‘ or not), until the blank page could be filled up with a
 ‘ Preface, in which the Editors, conformably to rea-
 ‘ son, might speak of their performance as of a work
 ‘ already executed.—*Secondly*, That, without going a great
 ‘ way for an actual example of what I suppose *may* have
 ‘ been practised in this case, a shining example of it we
 ‘ have at hand in the very next ninth and last volume,
 ‘ the final date of which specifying the month of *May*

‘ 1516,

peregrinationis causa, to whom he eagerly applied :
and that, from his intercourse with them he had
acquired

* 1516, the Preface nevertheless is dated *June* the 26
' (*Sexto Kalendas Julias*).—*Thirdly*, That, of all the dates
' in the whole set which mark the month, the oldest being
' (T. II. fol. verso 191) of August 1515, none is so late in
' 1516 as that of the Polyglott Psalter in question. From
' which reasons it is plain to me that the book might have
' been ready for sale, if not precisely on the 25th of August
' (VIII *Calend. Septembris*) at farthest a few days after;
' two months, not to say three, before Porrus had printed
' his final date of *November*, without marking the day;
' which, if one of the last in the month, he had some rea-
' son to suppress, that it might not look near four full
' months remote from the first of August; this being the
' date of Justiniani's dedication to the Pope, and the dedi-
' cation having probably been printed when he hoped, and
' perhaps promised, that against such a time the whole
' should be finished. But, be this as it will, I think I have
' said enough to make good what I hinted above, that the
' Polyglott Psalter of Basil might dispute the precedency
' with that of Genoa.—By all this, however, I am far
' from pretending to make *Erasmus* the first Editor of
' Polyglott Books: and I firmly believe that when Le
' Long inserted these words, *Cura & studio Desid. Erasmi*,
' he did it without any other foundation than the common
' opinion which ascribes to *Erasmus* the whole business of
' preparing this Edition of Jerom's works; though he so
' little meddled with Hebrew, that when he had occasion
' for it, *en passant*, he would not proceed without requiring
' the assistance of the two brothers *Bruno* and *Basil Amer-*
bach.

acquired such a knowledge of their language, as to make him believe he might undertake an edition of the

bach. So that Le Long, instead of *Cura & studio Desid. Erasmi*, might rather have said, *Cura & studio Brunonis & Basili Amerbachiorum* (or, as they used to spell it, *Amerbachiorum*). This I infer from their joint Address to the Reader, at the head of Tome the Fifth; where also the Reader is informed of some particulars which may serve as a good, or even necessary, comment upon the fifth page of Erasmus's dedication to Archbishop Warham. I. That when Erasmus [who by the bye had himself collected materials towards an edition by him intended of St. Jerom's works] came to Basil; he found great provisions and preparations already made [for the same purpose], at the expence, and by the care, of their now deceased Father, *John Amerbach*: who, after procuring St. Ambrose's and St. Austin's works, printed *suis typis*, had resolved to go on with St. Jerom's. II. That their father, intending to make them collaborators in that work, had furnished them with some knowledge (*qualicunque peritia*, as they term it) in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. III. That Erasmus having taken upon him the care of the four first Tomes, the care of the five last became their lot. And accordingly, in all the subsequent Addresses to the Reader, we find them (though under the sole name of *Bruno*) speaking as Editors; yet making honourable mention of the Learned to whose assistance they acknowledged themselves much indebted. And let me add, that they not only never speak as Printers, but express themselves in such a manner as to leave all the honours of the printing-office to *John Froben*:

the Æthiopic Psalter; which was actually published at Rome nearly five years before the date of his Polyglott performance. At the end of the above-

‘ *Froben*: so that, in Le Long’s account, it was a new
 ‘ mistake to write *Typis Amerbachii*: a mistake, however,
 ‘ which Maittaire himself, in his account, has not avoided,
 ‘ his words being, p. 124: *Eodem anno quo Justinianus suum*
 ‘ *Psalterium Pentaglotton edidit; Basileæ ab Amerbachio Psalte-*
 ‘ *rium triglotton . . . excusum est.*—Something more might be
 ‘ added in order to rectify by the present account of Eras-
 ‘ mus’s Jerom, some inaccuracies which may puzzle or
 ‘ mislead the reader, in the accounts given of it by the
 ‘ very best and latest writers of Erasmus’s Life: but I
 ‘ think that this hint alone may be sufficient. The only
 ‘ addition in which I shall indulge myself, will be to present
 ‘ the Reader with a kind of Inscription in capitals, which is
 ‘ very conspicuous at the end of the last volume; and by
 ‘ which we may be made, in some measure, to understand,
 ‘ not only how far Froben is to be looked upon as connected
 ‘ with, or distinguished from, the Amerbachs; but also, what
 ‘ that *Society* was, which I remember is somewhere spoken of
 ‘ by Erasmus himself, (if I mistake not) who relates, that on
 ‘ his refusing with some obstinacy a considerable sum offered
 ‘ him by Froben, and urging that he thought such a sum
 ‘ too considerable from a man even in his circumstances,
 ‘ Froben at last prevailed by assuring him, that the offer he
 ‘ made was not at his own private expence, but at the ex-
 ‘ pence of the *Society*. The said Inscription is as follows:
 ‘ “ BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IO. FROBENNII IMPENDIO
 ‘ “ BRVNONIS, BASILII ET BONIFACII AMORBACHIORVM,
 ‘ “ AC IOANNIS FROBENNII CHALCOGRAPHI ET IACOBI
 ‘ “ RECHBURGII CIVIVM BASILIENSIVM. MENSE MAIO,
 ‘ “ AN. M.D.XVI.”

S

mentioned

mentioned address, he promised to perform something in the Arabic, if he should meet with sufficient encouragement.

The famous Bible of Cardinal XIMENES, commonly called the *Complutensian*, consists of six large folio volumes; having the Hebrew [d], Latin, and Greek in three distinct columns, and the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, at the bottom of the page, the margin being filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. It was begun in 1502, finished in 1517, but not published till 1522. A more particular account of it may be seen in LE LONG, and in MAITTAIRE [e].

In 1546 appeared, at Constantinople, "Pentateuchus Hebræo-Chaldæo-Perfeco-Arabicus," in three columns; the Hebrew text in the middle; on the right hand the Perfic version of R. JACOB fil. JOSEPH; and on the left the Chaldee paraphrase of

[d] The Hebrew text in this edition was corrected by ALPHONSUS, a physician of Complutum, PAULUS CORONELLUS, and ALPHONSUS ZAMORA, who were all converts from Judaism to Christianity. The Mss. it was printed from had undergone the Masoretical castigation. See Dr. KENNICOTT, Diff. II. p. 475.

[e] The Gentleman to whom we are indebted for the observations on POTKEN's *Psalter* would have favoured us with some curious remarks on this scarce edition, and on that of Antwerp by PLANTINUS, but had not leisure to get them ready in time. We hope, however, to be able speedily to present them to the Public, as a Supplement to the present publication.

ONKELOS: at the top is the Arabic paraphrase of SAADIAS, and at the bottom the commentary of RASI. The whole is printed in Hebrew characters with points, the middle column on a larger size than the others. At the end of Genesis appears, "Absolutus est liber Geneleos in domo ELIEZERIS BERAB GERSON Soncinatis [*f*]."

In 1547, was published, from the same press, "Pentateuchus Hebraicus, Hispanicus, & Barbaro-Grecus." This edition was also printed in three columns; the Hebrew Text in the middle; the old Spanish version on the right hand; and on the left, the *modern* Greek, as used by the Caraites at Constantinople, who do not understand Hebrew. The Spanish is designed for the Refugee Spanish Jews. At the head and bottom of the pages are the Targum and the Commentary as in the last mentioned editions [*g*].

The next Polyglott Bible (commonly called the *Royal* or *Spanish* Polyglott) was printed at Antwerp, by CHRISTOPHER PLANTINUS 1569—1572, by authority of Philip II, King of Spain, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee, under the direction of ARIAS MONTANUS, in eight volumes, folio. The New Testament had also the Syriac version [*h*].

In

[*f*] LE LONG, p. 45. [*g*] Ibid. p. 46.

[*h*] "We need say the less of this great work; as it is not pretended, that the least *correction* was made in this edition of the Hebrew Text. Indeed no such thing could possibly be expected from an Editor who believed the

In 1586 a Polyglott Bible was published at Heidelberg, in two volumes, folio; printed in four columns, Hebrew, Greek, and two Latin versions, viz. St. Jerom's and that of *Santes Pagninus*; with the notes of VATABLUS; and in the margin are the idioms, and the *radices* of all the difficult words. Two other dates have been seen to this edition, viz. 1599 and 1616; but LE LONG, after an attentive comparison, declares them to be only different copies of the same impression; but that some of them have the Greek Testament with the addition of the Latin version of ARIAS MONTANUS [i].

In 1596, JACOBUS LUCIUS printed an edition, in Greek, Latin, and German, at Hamburg, in four volumes, folio, "Studio DAVIDIS WOLDERI," the Greek from the Venice edition of 1518 [k]; the Latin versions of St. JEROM and PAGNINUS.

In
"perfection of the Hebrew Text—*quanta integritate* (says
"he) *semper conservata fuerint Biblia Hebræa, plerique do-*
"*tissimi viri constanter asseverarunt, &c.* HODY, p. 516,
"517." Dr. KENNICOTT, Diff. II. p. 477. This edition
is particularly described in LE LONG, p. 20.

[i] "Quæ sub VATABLI nomine circumferuntur Biblia,
"ejus non sunt; annotationesque eidem adscriptæ auctorem
"habent ROBERTUM STEPHANUM." WALTON, Proleg.
iv. p. 33. See LONG, p. 15.

[k] LE LONG, p. 26.—FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Græca*,
says the same. But the editor, WOLDERUS himself, in his
Preface speaks thus: "De LXX interpretum Græcâ, deque
"Latinâ HIERONYMI, ut putatur, versione nihil moneo
nifi

In 1599 ELIAS HUTTERUS published one at Noremberg, in six languages; four of them, the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, printed from the Antwerp edition; the fifth was the German version of LUTHER; and the sixth the Slavonic version of Wittenberg [1]. This Bible was never completed, but goes no farther than the book of *Ruth*.

In

“ nisi quod scire tua non parum, opinor, interest; in iis, “ Plantinariam editionem me esse sequutum: quod cor- “ rectior quidem quæ esset nulla sese mihi offerret.” As far as can be judged from a collation of some passages, it appears that he followed the edition of PLANTINUS, but used his own judgement in the punctuation, and other less material particulars. The new Latin version, here printed, appears to be, not that of PAGNINUS (though said to be his by WOLDERUS); but rather that which ROBERT STEPHENS published in 1557, corrected from the observations of PAGNINUS and VATABLUS. The New Testament is the first of BEZA, which R. STEPHENS printed in 1556, with the same types which he used in the following year for the abovementioned Latin version of the Old Testament.— We are indebted for this note to the Ms. annotations which the Rev. Mr. DE MISSY had made many years ago on the margin of his copy of LE LONG’s *Bibliotheca Sacra*, such as it is in the Leipzig edition of 1709.

[1] Instead of the Slavonic, some copies were printed with the French version of Geneva; others, with the Italian of the same city; and others again with a Saxon version from the German of LUTHER.—HUTTERUS published the Psalter and New Testament in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German. He also published the New Testament in

In 1645 was printed, by ANTHONY VITRE, Monf. LE JAY's Polyglott Bible, in Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin; in the title said to be, "*Parifus*, MDCXXVI et ann. feqq. ad "MDCXLV," in ten volumes [*m*].

Dr. BRIAN WALTON published the London Polyglott in NINE languages, Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Perfic, and Latin, in 1657 [*n*]. This edition has been fupposed by

Mr. TWELVE languages; viz. Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Italian, Spanifh, and French, in one page; and Latin, German, Bohemian, Englifh, Danifh, and Polonefe, in another. CALMET, ubi fupra. See LE LONG, p. 26.

[*m*] LE LONG, p. 27. PALMER, p. 274. This edition is remarkable for the Samaritan Pentateuch having been firft printed in it, with its verfion, from Mff. brought into Europe between the year 1620 and 1630, under the care of the very learned MORINUS. See Dr. KENNICOTT, Diff. II. p. 478.

[*n*] Though *nine* languages are ufed in this edition, there is no *one* book in the whole Bible printed in fo many. In the New Teftament the Four Evangelifts are in *fix* languages, the other books only in five. The books of Judith and the Maccabees are only in *three* languages. The Septuagint verfion is printed from the edition at Rome Anno 1587. The Latin is the Vulgate of CLEMENT VIII. The Chaldee Paraphrafe is completer than any former publication. This edition is enriched with Prefaces, Prolegomena, Treatifes on Weights and Meafures, Geographical Charts, and Chronological Tables. CALMET, ubi fupra, p. viii.—Dr. WALTON was affifted in this laborious undertaking by Dr.

EDMUND

Mr. PALMER to have been printed from sheets surreptitiously obtained from the press at Paris; and to have been published with improvements so soon after, as to reduce M. LE JAY almost to want, after having expended above £.5000 sterling to compleat his work. But Mr. PALMER mistook the date of LE JAY's *Polyglott* (which he makes to be 1657), and

EDMUND CASTELL, who translated from the Syriac some fragments of Daniel, the books of Tobit and Judith, the Letters of Jeremiah and Baruch, and the first book of the Maccabees; he also translated the Song of Solomon from the Æthiopic into Latin, and added notes to the Samaritan Pentateuch; but the most considerable assistance he gave was by his Lexicon in two volumes, a work which is a necessary supplement to the *Polyglott*. ALEXANDER HUISSE collected the various Readings at the bottom of each page; revised the Septuagint version, the Greek Text of the New Testament, and the Latin Vulgate; he also collated the edition of the Old Testament printed at Rome, and the New Testament of ROBERT STEPHENS, with the Alexandrine manuscript. See PRIDEAUX, vol. II. p. 47. Dr. THOMAS HYDE corrected the Arabic, Syriac, and Persian; as LOFTUSIUS did the Æthiopic version of the New Testament. LOUIS LE DIEU and SAMUEL CLARKE were also assistants in the work. LE LONG, p. 33, &c.—“The immense merit of this work is too well known to need any laboured recommendation. And yet, it must be observed, that in *This*, the best and most useful of all editions, the Hebrew Text is printed *Masoretically*; almost in an absolute agreement with the many former editions, and with the latest and worst *Mss.*” KENNICOTT, Diss. II. p. 480.
then

then formed his conclusion of the sheets being sent into England from Paris; and met with a correspondent, it seems, that encouraged his error. LE JAY's *Polyglott* was published, in Ten Volumes, MDCLV: The English *Polyglott*, in Six Volumes, not till MDCLVII, twelve years after the other [o]; under Dr. WALTON's picture, we are told it was begun only in MDCLIII.—It is said indeed that the English put out *Proposals* for a cheaper and better edition, soon after LE JAY's was published, which might in some measure hinder the sale of it. But other causes concurred. The enormous size of the book rendered it inconvenient for use; and the price deterred purchasers. And further, the refusal of LE JAY to publish it under RICHELIEU's name, though that Minister had offered to print it at his own expence,

[o] Dr. WALTON got leave to import paper, duty-free, in 1652; began the work 1653; and published it 1657. It is surprizing he could get through six such volumes in four years; though certainly many Printers were employed on it; among others, Mr. ICHABOD DAWES of Lowlayton, maternal grandfather to W. BOWYER. But it is plain that, in the re-printed leaf of the Preface, Dr. WALTON robs the Protector of the honour of patronizing this work, which was begun in 1653, and published in 1657; three years before the Restoration, 1660. The licence was granted by the Council of State in 1652; and was continued by OLIVER, who dissolved the Runip-Parliament in 1653. Dr. WALTON was consecrated Bishop of CHESTER December 2, 1660; and died Nov. 29, 1661.

damped

damped the sale of it.—The English Polyglott, in return, made but little way in France. A large-paper copy was sold, in 1718, to a gentleman of the name of COLBERT, the six volumes bound in fourteen. CASTELL's *Lexicon*, that went along with this set, was on a smaller-sized paper. The same copy was afterwards sold to M. DE SEUL, and is now in the collection of the Count DE LAURAGUAIS [p].

The last leaf but one of the Preface of WALTON's *Polyglott* is canceled in many copies; a circumstantial account of which we are enabled to lay before the Reader in the words of a Friend, to whom this Appendix is already most materially indebted.

“ To Mr. BOWYER.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I will venture to be positive, that I never spoke
“ a word before this, concerning two different *Dedi-*
“ *cations* of WALTON's *Polyglott*; though I remem-
“ ber something that may have been the occasion of
“ somebody's thinking I did. The fact is, to the best
“ of my remembrance,

“ I. That when we met at Cambridge [nineteen or
“ twenty years ago], and, in company with several
“ other persons, visited the Library of Trinity-Col.

[p] DE BURE, *Bibliographie Instructive des Belles Lettres*,
vol. I. p. 18.

T “ lege,

“ lege, a gentleman, on my taking notice there were
 “ two copies of the said Polyglott, dropt a hint
 “ about exchanging duplicates for other books :

“ II. That upon this I made bold to observe—Du-
 “ plicates were not always a mere superfluity, espe-
 “ cially in public libraries, where they might have
 “ been intended to be kept together for curiosity’s
 “ sake, on account of some remarkable difference be-
 “ tween them; which might even be the case with
 “ the very books just taken notice of :

“ III. That accordingly, the first volume of one
 “ copy being compared with the first volume of the
 “ other, one of the two was found to have in the
 “ *Preface* what its companion had not, a compliment
 “ for (or acknowledgment of obligation to) *the Lord*
 “ *Protector and his Council*; which I think is only
 “ preserved in the few copies that were disposed of
 “ before the Restoration, and perhaps not in all of
 “ them ; since the same courtly loyalty by which the
 “ Republican leaf containing the said compliment had
 “ been canceled, might very well induce some prudent
 “ or cunning people to tear it out of the copies in
 “ their possession, and get it replaced by its more
 “ loyal substitute, the reprinted leaf; in which Crom-
 “ well’s praise is not more to be looked for, than his
 “ bones in the Chapel of Henry the Seventh :

“ IV. That in the first edition of the said leaf,
 “ where the compliment for *the Protector and his*
 “ *Council* offers itself connected with a previous com-
 “ pliment of the same kind for *another Council ante-*

“ *cedent to Cromwell's Protectorate*, we found *this* (the
 “ last mentioned compliment) so introduced and so
 “ worded, as Walton's professed gratitude *naturally*
 “ would have it to be : instead of which, the *second*
 “ edition has nothing but a faint shadow of it, in a
 “ few vague words, introduced only by way of pa-
 “ renthesis ; and so *well chosen*, however, that un-
 “ cautious readers might as easily take them for an
 “ indispensable act of gratitude to the *King's Council*,
 “ as for a joyful effusion of gratitude to a Council,
 “ *set up by his enemies* : the different readings of the
 “ two editions (both with regard to Cromwell or *his*
 “ Council, and the Privy-Council of the Common-
 “ wealth) being *exactly such* as you shall see presently ;
 “ unless I made some blunder in transcribing, from
 “ the first edition, the most material part of the
 “ passage they belong to ; which indeed was dis-
 “ patched in a great hurry, while the company near
 “ me were talking (*ut fit*) about any thing else.

“ Supposing then a full agreement of the two edi-
 “ tions as far as I took notice of no variety, the whole
 “ passage in the first must be deemed to run as follows :
 “ save only that I shall write in large capitals the word
 “ which makes the beginning of the place that has
 “ been altered : “ *Utque eorum conatus qui collatis*
 “ *studiis adjumento nobis fuerunt lubenter agnosci-*
 “ *mus, sic nullo non obsequii genere prosequendi*
 “ *Mæcenates munifici, qui ubertim donaria sua ad*
 “ *sacrum opus promovendum obtulerunt, quorum*
 “ *meritis cum pares non sumus, quod unum possu-*

"mus, grata mente recolimus, & in devotissimæ
 "observantiæ, perpetuæque cultus & obsequii signum,
 "beneficentiam eorum hic omnibus testatam facimus,
 "PRIMO autem commemorandi, quorum favore
 "chartam à vectigalibus immunem habuimus, quod
 "quinque abhinc annis, à *Concilio* secretiori, primo
 "concessum, postea à Serenissimo D PROTECTORE
 "ejusque *Concilio*, operis promovendi causa, benigne
 "confirmatum & continuatum erat. Quibus sub-
 "jungendi, D. Carolus Ludovicus, princeps Pala-
 "tin. S. R. I. Elector : Illustrissimus D. Gulielmus
 " &c." In my copy, which is one of the loyal sort,
 "the latter part of the passage (from the word
 "PRIMO, down to the name *Carolus*) is reformed or
 "transformed in this manner: "Inter hos effusiore
 "bonitate labores nostros profecuti sunt (praeter eos
 "quorum favore chartam à vectigalibus immunem ha-
 "buimus) Serenissimus Princeps D. Carolus &c."

"All I can say further on this subject is, that the
 "passage I speak of being the only one I collated,
 "something more perhaps of the same kind might
 "be discovered by a more extensive collation. The
 "page that contains the passage is the last-but-one
 "of the Preface, and the *second* of the reprinted
 "leaf; in the *first* of which (at a small distance
 "from the bottom) I observe that Walton, mention-
 "ing what we may call his *literary* obligations to
 "some eminent churchmen, once chaplains to the
 "unfortunate Charles, not only styles them *Sacra*
 "Theo-

"*Theologiae Doctores*, but addeth, & *Regi Carolo τῷ*
 " *ἐν αἰσίοις olim Capellani* [q]. Now this place at least
 " (I own) I should like to compare with the first im-
 " pression, and I am sorry I took no notice of it
 " when I had an opportunity; though indeed not so
 " sorry on that account, as on account of having
 " made you stay so long for an answer; which how-
 " ever would have been ready much sooner, had my
 " health better agreed with my inclination to shew
 " myself,

" Dear Sir,

" Your most obedient

Balfover-Street,
 21 April, 1779.

" humble servant,

" CÆSAR DE-MISSY."

[q] The following variations have been noticed in the
 leaf of the *Preface* which immediately precedes this, and
 which appears also to have been re-printed :

P. 7. *l. ult. imposuimus* (as it stood in what may be called the
 Republican copy) is changed into *apposuimus*

P. 8. *l. 7. exhibeatur into exhibetur*

l. 27. impulerint ut opus into impulerint ut temporibus
hisce turbulentis, cum Religio et literæ Ostracif-
ismum quasi passæ videantur, opus. B.

Before

Before we quit this edition, we shall take the liberty to observe, on the authority, and in the words, of the critical Friend to whom we are indebted for the Hebrew collation in our Appendix N^o II, that “the latter part of the English Polyglott is much more incorrectly printed than the former; probably either owing to the Editor’s absence from the press, or to his being over-fatigued by the work. This will appear in very obvious instances, if we cast our eye only on the title *Targum Jonathan* תרגום יונתן. which is often printed falsely in Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, Nahum, Zechariah, particularly ch. xiv. p. 138, where both words are misprinted.

“But this is not the worst. The *Hebrew Text* suffered much in several places by the rapidity of the publication. To multiply instances would be invidious. I shall therefore mention only one; which occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 1. where we read דִּינָה instead of דִּינָה.

“There is also in the *Samaritan Text*, according to the *English Polyglott*, a very grievous blunder; entirely owing to the heedless transposition of two words עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר, Gen. i. 19, by which that text, in contradiction to itself elsewhere, says, “and the morning and the evening were the fourth day.” And this, as the translation is different, I take to have been an error of the Editor, and not of the copy from which he printed.

“Nor

“ Nor is this the only error, for in Gen. iii. 2. הכחש
“ is falsely printed for חנחש. So again Gen. iv. 5.
“ מנחתו for מנחמו.

“ But this is nothing, comparatively speaking, to
“ what we meet with a little below, at ver. 7. where
“ the second תטיב is unluckily omitted in its proper
“ place; and then inserted after רבצ, with a repeti-
“ tion of the word לפתח, to the utter confusion of
“ the sense of the passage—for literally translated it
“ runs thus: *Nonne, si benefeceris, recipies? si autem*
“ *non, ad portam peccatum cubat, benefeceris ad portam.*

“ These are glaring instances of unpardonable ne-
“ gligence; and the more unpardonable, because they
“ stand at the *entrance* of a work, which justly re-
“ quired the greatest care, and the utmost accu-
“ racy.

“ I shall only add, what, in obedience to truth, I
“ am bound to add, that the *French Polyglott* is en-
“ tirely clear of all *these* errors; and indeed of many
“ *others*, which the attentive Reader will find scat-
“ tered through the *English Polyglott*.”

In the *Preface* also are the following inaccuracies :

- P. 1. *last paragraph but one*, r. καὶ αὐτοὶ *
3. l. 1. *for variant* r. *varient*

* WALTON's word is καὶ αὐτοὶ, which makes an odd appear-
ance at the head of such *inaccuracies* as are mere *Errata Typographica*.
The word was probably of his own making; and he might take it
to be formed as regularly as *καὶ αὐτοὶ*. C. D. M.

P. 3. l. 23 for 1615 r. 1515

l. 15 from bottom, for Testamenti r. Testamenti

P. 5. l. 23 for Quinti r. Quarti

l. 22 from bottom, for Paris. ex r. Paris. quæ ex

l. 5 from bottom, for opus in r. opus ni

P. 6. l. 20 for occurrunt r. occurrit †

l. 17 from bottom, for Plantina r. Plantini †

l. 7 from bottom, for Haphtororum r. Haphtarorum

P. 9. l. 20 from bottom, for pertimeseret r. pertimesceret.

† The place is certainly faulty, as *quicquid* *occurrunt* will never pass. But in what word the fault lies is perhaps not so certain. Perhaps, for *quicquid*, we should read *quæcunque*. C. D. M.

† This whole line is very bad, and a thorough revision of it would, perhaps, make us question whether *Plantiniana* for *Plantina* would not do as well as *Plantini*. C. D. M.



ADDENDUM to Note [Z], p. 92.

" Having not Mr. Köhlerus's book, I can but guess how
 " *Deborah* comes in there with *Christina*; and the only
 " thing I can guess is, that Köhlerus, in order to evince the
 " possibility of *Dynen* being a diminutive of *Christina*, had
 " alledged, as an example of a still shorter diminutive, the
 " use of *Deb* for *Deborah*: which, if he did, Mr. Meerman's
 " seeming to wonder at it may be tolerably accounted for.
 " But what, if instead of these diminutives that retain only
 " the beginning of a name, he had mentioned some of those
 " which retain only the latter part of it, and that not al-
 " ways entire, as our *Bell* for *Arabella*, *Mun* for *Edmund*,
 " *Tony* for *Antony*, *Sanden* for *Alexander*, *Bet* or *Betty* for
 " *Elizabeth*? Mr. Meerman's own book furnishes us (vol. II.
 " p. 79) with a list of German names, among which,
 " *Hans* clearly appears for *Johans* or *Johannes*, *Glaus* for
 " *Nicolaus*, and, if I mistake not, *Nese* for *Agnes*. Such
 " examples make it certainly plausible enough that *Tynen*,
 " or the same lovingly softened into *Dynen*, might be a di-
 " minutive of *Christynen*, which (or else *Christynin*) I take
 " to be the feminine for *Christyn*, as *Fustin*, or *Fustin*, is
 " the feminine for *Fust*. See vol. I. p. 184. where this
 " very daughter of *Fust*, is called *Fusthin*, but where it
 " imports no more than *t*. And supposing now that all this
 " should be deemed insufficient to solve the question how
 " John Schoeffer could call his mother *Christina*, while it
 " appears that his father, in a convention passed between
 " himself and his kinsman, *John Fust*, son of *John*, has
 " called her by the name of *Dynen*; there is, I think, an-
 " other solution ready, in the obvious supposition that she
 " might have two names, and that he, especially in a writing
 " passed with a kinsman, might have chosen, as a loving
 " husband, to call her familiarly by what I must be al-
 " lowed to term the favourite name." C. D. M.

ADDENDUM to Note [U], p. 90.

“Mr. MEERMAN’s explanation is intricate at least; and
 “it leaves us besides to wonder, not only how *forms of*
 “*letters* could be bare bodies or pieces of metal *without*
 “*letters*, but how so considerable a part of the invention as
 “the matrices should have been only mentioned indirectly
 “as a thing well known before. A correction, however,
 “seems absolutely necessary. Neither can it be denied that
 “Mr. MEERMAN, by inserting *ex eis*, clears TRITHEMIUS
 “from the reproach of saying, that even matrices were
 “made by way of *fusion*; and thus far I like his correction
 “so well, that I am sorry to see the new difficulties arising
 “from it in the context, notwithstanding his elaborate ex-
 “planation; which, had I room and leisure to make it
 “plainer by a compleat paraphrase, I should rather leave
 “as it is; because all the machines required for such a
 “paraphrase, would only serve to set in a clearer light the
 “intricacy of the affair, while something better perhaps may
 “be done to obtain what seems to have been Mr. MEERMAN’s
 “chief end. Something certainly is faulty in TRITHE-
 “MIUS’s phrase, *fundendi formas . . . quas ipsi matrices nomi-*
 “*nabant*. But then, why should not the fault be suspected
 “to lie in that very unlucky word which properly consti-
 “tutes the acknowledged absurdity of the phrase? I think,
 “in short, that by some spot or accidental stroke of
 “the pen in the Ms. the word *fundendi* might have been
 “mistaken for *fudendi*: nay, I think, that even the more
 “similar word *tundendi* might have been employed by
 “TRITHEMIUS, as being not altogether improper, since
 “it could be interpreted, at least with the help of some in-
 “dulgence, by *Tudite vel tudicula imprimendi*; not to say
 “that, according to the well-known observation, *Verbum*
 “*simplex saepe ponitur pro composito*, the simple word *tundendi*
 “might be taken in a sense analagous to the compound
 “*pertundendi*. I can say no more at present.” C.D.M.



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